

Introduction

In Judaism, there is a reverence that binds student to teacher. The power of this relationship is aptly captured in words once written by Professor Jacob Katz in his classic essay on the architect of Hungarian Ultra-Orthodoxy, "Towards a Biography of the Hatam Sofer." In this piece, Professor Katz describes the absolute devotion that linked the Hatam Sofer (1762–1839) to his teacher Rabbi Nathan Adler. Katz wrote that when Rabbi Adler decided to leave Frankfurt and accept the rabbinical position of Boskowitz in Moravia, his pupil intended only to accompany him to the outskirts of the city and then bid him farewell. However, the pupil, "at the moment of separation, was so overwhelmed by sorrow that he could not bear to part from him. Thus Moses Sofer departed from his city of birth."

The ethos of the Pressburg Yeshiva that the Hatam Sofer eventually established is surely far removed from the aesthetic that marked the German world of *Bildung* that informed my teacher Fritz Bamberger. Yet, no tale better captures the relationship I had with him. My very soul remains entwined with his no less than that of the Hatam Sofer's with Rabbi Adler's.

I came under the tutelage of Dr. Bamberger during my student years in New York at Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion, and ultimately wrote my rabbinical thesis under his direction. To sit in his class and to listen to his words was to be in the presence of knowledge and wisdom. Professor Bamberger possessed a storehouse of learning that he bore with ease. He would speak in a quiet and knowing manner of Luzzatto, Krochmal, Zunz, and Cohen; and he would always illuminate their thoughts through citations of Vico, Herder, Kant, and Hegel. When Dr. Bamberger spoke in his gentle and natural way of Maimonides, Spinoza, and Mendelssohn, there was an added appreciation in his voice; and his gentle admiration for his own teachers, Julius Guttmann and Leo Baeck, touched the core of my being. These men were his intimates, and as Dr. Bamberger spoke, one felt the passion and nobility attached to learning. There was a dimension of grace present as I listened and learned.

When Dr. Bamberger would show me his library, a special glow would envelop him. He was a great bibliophile. Professor Bamberger had not only mastered the words that were written in these volumes; he loved the very pages on which these words were written, as well as the covers that bound the thoughts these tomes contained. I sensed his sensuality and passion as he held these books, displayed them and spoke of their contents.

This book catalogues and describes the holdings of that library he so reverently displayed to me and to others who were guests in his home. As the

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Editors' Note

reader will see, the Bamberger Library was and remains a treasure trove of Jewish intellectual history. It was the great privilege of the College-Institute to purchase this library upon his death. This library is currently housed in the Abramov Library on the Jerusalem campus of HUC-JIR. Dr. Bamberger lovingly listed these volumes with absolute precision and described their contents with great exactitude in the manuscript that has now at long last been published in the pages of this book. His encyclopedic knowledge as well as his attention to details — always the hallmarks of profound scholarship — are herein fully revealed. This book and its bibliographical information constitute an incomparable boon to scholarship. The holdings of the library can now be disseminated to the entire world of researchers and interested laypeople alike.

It is with great personal joy as well as scholarly appreciation that I therefore herald the appearance of this book. I offer my deepest gratitude to his daughter Gay, his son Michael and daughter-in-law Phylis, as well as his widow Maria, for providing the financial assistance that has permitted the publication of this work. I also wish to thank Laurel Wolfson and David Gilner, who edited the manuscript; their devotion to this project have made the appearance of this book possible and their efforts have allowed the lips of Dr. Bamberger to speak from the place of eternal rest.

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Jerusalem, August 1, 2003 — 3 Av 5763

The comprehensive Spinoza Collection at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion Library, Cincinnati, is much the result of Adolph S. Oko's personal interest in Baruch Spinoza and his philosophy. Oko was Librarian at the College from 1906 to 1933, and he began the Spinoza Collection during the winter of 1911–12. His intent was to gather all extant works by and about Spinoza, and to make them useful to scholars through cataloging and bibliography: the Library's card catalog and Oko's posthumously published bibliography (*The Spinoza Bibliography*, G.K. Hall, 1964) bear testimony to his successes and accomplishments. Writing of the Library and its Spinoza Collection just prior to his death in 1944, Oko opined: "This collection now consists of about 2,500 volumes, and is second to none in size and importance."

The development of the Spinoza Collection continued under the guidance of Professor Herbert C. Zafren, Librarian in Cincinnati and then Director of Libraries for the College-Institute from 1950 to 1994. During these years, the size of the collection nearly doubled, and its contents were made more accessible to the scholarly world through the publications that he established and edited, including *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* and the *Dictionary Catalog of the Klau Library, Cincinnati* (G.K. Hall, 1964; suppl. 1972, 1984). Under his supervision, the Spinoza collection of Professor Fritz Bamberger — certainly the most important privately held collection of Spinozana — was acquired, processed, and then dispatched to our Jerusalem campus, where it resides in the Special Collections Room of the Abramov Library.

The Library continues to develop its Spinoza Collection. The descriptions that had first appeared in card, then book, format are now available to scholars on the internet via the online catalog which includes the holdings of all three of our American libraries. With the appearance in print of Professor Bamberger's *catalogue raisonné* and the addition of these titles to the Library's online catalog, a most important contribution to the published corpus of Spinoza bibliography is achieved.

Professor Bamberger's catalog was a work in progress. When the collection arrived in Cincinnati in 1986, there were an additional twenty items appropriate to the catalog which were not described therein. Descriptions of these items do not appear in this work, but will be found in the Library's online catalog when the Bamberger holdings are entered into this database. The posthumous publication of a manuscript often presents the editors with a host of problems. Our guiding principle here has been to let Professor Bamberger speak in his own words; where unavoidable, we have preferred to resolve problems of intelligibility by pruning a word or two rather than by adding to the text. As is necessary in any manuscript, we have established uniformity in names, titles, places, publishers, dates, and in the references found in the Index.

Laurel Wolfson and David Gilner, Editors

Early Editions of Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* A Bibliohistorical Reexamination

Fritz Bamberger, New York

In the fall of 1655 Spinoza wrote his friend and frequent correspondent, Henry Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society in London, that he was engaged in the writing of a treatise on the meaning of the Scriptures. The work, he confided, was aimed at exposing the prejudices of the theologians, defending himself against accusations of atheism that were constantly leveled against him, and upholding the freedom of a philosopher to express his thoughts.¹ It took a few years to complete the book. When it was eventually published in 1670, the title page read: *Tractatus / Theologico- / Politicus / Continens / Dissertationes aliquot, / Quibus ostenditur Libertatem Philosophandi non tantum / slava Pietate, & Reipublicae Pace posse concedi: sed / eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicae, ipsaque / Pietate tolli non posse. / Johann: Epist: I. Cap: IV. vers: XIII. / Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet / in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis. [Vignette] / Apud Henricum Künraht. MDCLXX.*

One would think that an author anxious to refute a grave charge leveled at him would make his identity known. Yet, the *Tractatus* appeared anonymously. Even the place of publication and the name of the publisher or printer were carefully disguised. There was no Henricus Künraht in Hamburg. There were, from the beginning, some who did not believe in the Hamburg origin of the *Tractatus*.² Johannes Musaeus, professor of theology in Jena, Germany, seems to have been the first to state in print that the *Tractatus* was printed in Amsterdam.³ From him Theophil Spizel (Spizelius), a Lutheran preacher in Augsburg, Germany, copied the same information.⁴ Pierre Bayle's note to the same effect in his widely-read

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¹ Epistola xxx, Spinoza, *Opera*, Im Auftrage der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegeben von Carl Gebhardt (Heidelberg, 1924), Vol. 4, p. 166.

² Jean Brun, *La véritable religion des Hollandais* (Amsterdam, 1675): "... si l'on doit croire au titre, il n'est pas imprimé en ces Provinces, mais à Hambourg. Mais prenons que ce méchant livre soit imprimé en Hollande..." (p. 159); "Prenons pourtant... qu'il soit imprimé en ce paisicy..." (p. 160).

³ "Natales ejus tribuit inscriptio mendax Hamburgo, quos Amstelodamo, ubi Auctor vicisse dicitur, debere versimile est"; *Tractatus theologico-politicus ad veritatis lumen examinatus* (Jena, 1674), §1.

⁴ In a curious but knowledgeable book which describes the lives of famous scholars, writers

and widely-quoted Dictionary⁵ was repeated by many eighteenth century bibliographers.⁶ The identity of the publisher, however, remained in doubt for a long time. Johannes Colerus reported in his biography of Spinoza (1705) that Christoffel Conrad of Amsterdam had printed the *Tractatus*. "According to the title page of this wicked book it appeared that it was printed in Hamburg by Henricus Künrath [Colerus used the Dutch version of Hendrik Koenraad]. . . . However, the fact is that it was printed by Christoffel Conradus, printer of books at the Egelantiers-Gracht in Amsterdam, who, in 1679, when I was called to that city to become preacher of the Lutheran Congregation in Amsterdam, presented me with a number of copies without being aware that it was so dangerous a book."⁷ Seemingly contradictory information appeared in the diaries of two German scholars, Gottlieb Stolle (1673–1744), later professor of political science at the University of Jena, and an otherwise unidentified Dr. Hallmann who travelled in Holland during the year 1704. According to their diaries, which became known only in 1847,⁸ they visited Jan Rieuwertsz the younger, an Amsterdam bookdealer who had taken over his father's business, and were told by him that his father had published the *Tractatus*. Jan Rieuwertsz the elder, a member of the Collegiant sect, had been a friend of Spinoza. From 1646, when he founded his publishing firm, till his death in 1685, he had specialized in

and poets who, because of accident or moral depravity, came to an untimely or unusual end; *Felix Literatus ex infelicitum periculis et casibus, sive De vitiis literatorum commentationes historico-theosophicae* (Augsburg, 1676), p. 143: "Editus est hic. anon. de libertate philos. tract. non Hamburgi, ut mendax inscriptio habet, sed Amstelod. ubi auctor vixisse dicitur."

5 *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Rotterdam, 1702), Vol. 3, p. 2767: "son *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, imprimé à Amsterdam et non à Hambourg, comme on a mit dans le Titre."

6 Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1722), p. 63; Jean P. Nicéron, *Nouvelles littéraires, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, Vol. 13 (Paris, 1730), p. 46; Johann Anton Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon* (Leipzig and Bernburg, 1759), p. 420.

7 Korte, dog waaragtige levens-beschryving, van Benedictus de Spinoza (The Hague, 1880 [reprint]), pp. 45 f. The early translation of Colerus' biography into French (1706) gave a wrong rendering of this passage and the translations into English (1706) and German (1733), which are from the French, perpetuated the error. Some 18th century cataloguers used Colerus' information: "Quod non Hamburgi primum apud Henricum Kunrath, ut mentitur Index, sed Amstelodami, apud Christophorum Conrad in lucem exit"; Jacob Friderich Reimann, *Catalogus bibliothecae theologiae* (Hildesheim, 1731), p. 984.

8 E. G. Guhrauer was the first to publish excerpts from Stolle's diaries: "Beiträge zur Kenntniss des 17. u. 18. Jahrhunderts aus den handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen Gottlieb Stollens," in *Allegemeine Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 7 (Berlin, 1847), pp. 399 ff. J. Freudenthal found a second manuscript of the diary, containing in addition large parts of Hallmann's travel notes, and published all passages pertaining to Spinoza in his collection of documents, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinozas* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 221–32.

Collegiant, Mennonite and other heterodox books and tracts.⁹ Many carried his imprint; others hid their origin under fictitious names. Rieuwertsz the younger told his visitors that nobody was interested in Spinoza anymore and he had therefore decided not to republish the *Pincipia Cartesii*, the philosopher's first book of which he had only two copies left, and the *Tractatus* though of this book, too, only a few copies remained.¹⁰

Colerus' and Stolle's reports do not contradict one another. Christoffel Conrad did print the *Tractatus* for the account of Jan Rieuwertsz who published and distributed it.¹¹ Willem Meijer, the Dutch scholar who examined the problem of the *Tractatus*' publisher erred when he regarded the reports mutually exclusive. He never considered that the printer and the publisher could be two different persons, an arrangement not uncommon in the Holland of Spinoza's time. Further, the argument which he used to discredit Colerus' report, namely that Conrad would not have given Colerus a copy of the *Tractatus* had he known that Spinoza was the author, is strangely at variance with Colerus' story.¹²

Why did Rieuwertsz and Spinoza exercise so much caution, hiding author and publisher under covers of anonymity and spuriousness, when they brought out the *Tractatus*? Was Holland not a country in which freedom of expression was secure? Indeed, such was Holland's reputation. Henry Oldenburg in London thought so and could not understand why Spinoza, living "in a republic so free that one can think as one wishes and express what one thinks,"¹³ was so reluctant to publish his true thoughts. But Spinoza and his publisher knew better. The orthodox Dutch theologians harassed any writer or publicist who leaned

9 A. M. Ledeboer, *Alfabetische lijst der boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Noord-Holland*, (Utrecht, 1876), p. 142.

10 Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 225; it is, of course, not true that Spinoza's philosophy had no followers ten years after his death.

11 Spinoza en zijn kring (The Hague, 1896), p. 326 and M. M. Kleerkooper, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17^e eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1914), p. 623 n. 1. Their assertion is supported by the terminology used in the old reports. Colerus speaking of Conrad, used the word "print"; Stolle, quoting Rieuwertsz, spoke of "publishing" (*auflegen*).

12 "De veris et fictis *Tractatus theologico-politici* editoribus," in *Chronicon Spinozanum*, Vol. 1 (The Hague, 1921), p. 265: "Hunc autem librum, de quo agitur, non edidisse, inde patet, quod Colero librum dono dedit, quod nunquam fecisset, si scisset auctorem esse Spinozam."

13 Oldenburg to Spinoza, Epistola XIV, July 31, 1663; *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 70. See also Sir William Temple (British Ambassador at The Hague), "Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands (1668)," in *Works*, Vol. 1 (London, 1720), p. 59: "It is hardly to be imagin'd, how all the Violence and Sharpness, which accompanies the Differences of Religion in other Countries, seems to be appeased or softened here, by the general Freedom which all Men enjoy, either by Allowance or Connivance. . . . No Man can here complain of Pressure in his Conscience. . . ."

toward heterodoxy and free thought. With relentless zeal, using theological arguments as well as political ones, and picturing the damage dangerous books did to the soul of man and would unfailingly do to the welfare of the commonwealth, the churchmen exerted heavy pressure on the civil authorities to confiscate such books. The reputation of Spinoza even before any of his "godless" writings appeared was bad. The rabbis had "banned and separated him from the people of Israel" because of the "horrendous heresies which he practiced and taught, and the monstrous actions which he committed."¹⁴ The Spanish Inquisition, as we know from the amazing recent finds by I.S. Revah in Madrid archives, kept him under surveillance.¹⁵ Closer to home, in Holland, his name was linked with suspicious religious and political circles. True, his first book, *Renati des Cartes principiorum philosophiae Pars I, & II, More Geometrico demonstratae*, published in 1663, had appeared under his full name. Rieuwertsz's publishership had been freely acknowledged: "Apud Johannem Rieuwertz, in vico vulgò dicto, de Dirk van Assen-steeg, sub signo Martyrologii." But this book was not controversial. Little of its contents represented Spinoza's own ideas and it was less apt than many other contemporary works which dealt with Cartesian thought to add fuel to the fiery fights between the Cartesians and anti-Cartesians of Holland.¹⁶ Spinoza was only moderately interested in his book and revealed to his friend Oldenburg the reason for publishing it. "On account of it perhaps some men of high station in my country will want to see the other things which I have written and which I acknowledge as my truly own, and will see to it that I can publish them without facing dangerous risks."¹⁷ But trouble began brewing even before Spinoza's truly-own book appeared.

In 1665 Pieter de la Court (his Dutch name was van den Hove) who was a partisan of Jan de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland and ardent defender of states-rights, wrote a little book, *De jure ecclesiasticorum*, which incensed the

political reactionaries and the orthodox leaders of the Reformed Church, all of whom were unbendingly opposed to the liberal policies of De Witt. Without making any concessions, De la Court maintained that all ecclesiastic rights depend on the license granted by the state.¹⁸ The storm raised by the book was still raging when, a year later, another book took up the same argument, carrying it even further. Ludwig Meyer, an intimate friend of Spinoza and the editor of his first book, propounded in his *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* that the authority of the state does not derive from ecclesiastic authority, that the true interpretation of the Scriptures is the philosophic one, that the power of the clergy ought to be sharply limited and that tolerance of infidels is in the interest of the state. Neither book appeared under its author's name. De la Court's work used the pseudonym "Lucius Antistius Constans" and a fictitious place of publication, Alethopolis (i.e., "Free City"). Most contemporaries participating in the widespread guessing game as to the identity of the authors ascribed the books, or at least one of them, to Spinoza.¹⁹ According to his earliest biographer, Jean Maximilien Lucas, Spinoza assured his best friends that he was not the author of De la Court's book.²⁰ Spinoza's intimate circle did not need such assurance. They well knew the identity of the men who publicized the new political philosophy; yet, even though some of them had a measure of influence in the community, they could not afford to contradict publicly the rumors spread to defame Spinoza.

Another incident, this time Spinoza's involvement in a heresy trial, must further have demonstrated to him the wisdom of prudence and anonymity. The defendants in this trial were two brothers, Adriaan and Johannes Koerbagh. Adriaan was a physician and jurist; Johannes a theologian. Both were friends of Spinoza. Adriaan was the author of *Een Bloemhof* ("A Flower Garden"),²¹

14 "... horrendas heregias, que practicava e ynornes obras que obrava . . ."; from the ban as recorded in Spanish, Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 115.

15 I.S. Revah, *Spinoza et le Dr. Juan de Prado* (Paris and The Hague, 1959); Revah uncovered reports submitted to the headquarters of the Inquisition in Madrid by its agents abroad, one a deposition by a priest, the other by a captain, both dated August, 1659, three years after Spinoza's expulsion from the Jewish Community (pp. 61-68).

16 Nicéron tells of vehement quarrels between two professors, G. de Vries and Burcher de Volder, at the University of Leiden and fist fights between their students: J.P. Nicéron, *Nachrichten von den Begebenheiten und Schriften berühmter Gelehrten mit einigen Zusätzen* herausgegeben von Friedrich Eberhard Rambach, Vol. 17 (Halle, 1758), p. 265. About the more academic aspects of the *querelle* see Francisque Bouillier, *Histoire de la philosophie Cartésienne*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1868), pp. 254-300; C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, "Le Cartésianisme aux Pays-Bas," in *Descartes et le cartésianisme hollandais*, Paris and Amsterdam, 1950, pp. 182 ff.; *idem*, *Nederlands Cartésianisme* (Amsterdam, 1954).

17 *Epistola xlii*, July 17/27 1663; *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 4.

18 The book's full title, which announces this thesis, is: *De jure ecclesiasticorum, liber singularis. Quo docetur, quod cunque divini humanique iuris ecclesiasticis tribuitur, vel ipsi sibi tribuunt, hoc, falsò impieque illis tribui, aut non aliunde, quam à suis, hoc est, ejus reipublicae sive civitatis prodiis, in quâ sunt constitui, accepisse.*

19 So do, considerably later, among others, Jacob Friderich Reimann, *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historie der Theologie insgemein und der jüdischen Theologie ins besondere* (Magdeburg and Leipzig, 1717), p. 642, and Johannes Vogt, *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum* (Hamburg, 1753), pp. 214, 639 f.

20 "La vie et l'esprit de M^r Benoit de Spinoza" (1719), in Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 25.

21 *Een Bloemhof van allerley lieflykheid sonder verdriet geplant door Vreedyk Waarmond, ondesoeker der waarheyd, tot nut en dienst van al die geen die der nut en dienst uyt trekken wil. Of een vertaaling en uitlegging van al de Hebreusche, Grieksche, Latynse, Franse en andere vreemde bastaart-woorden en wijsen van spreken, die . . . soo inde Godsgeleertheid, regtsgeleertheid, geneeskunst, als in andere konsten en wetenschappen, en ook in het dagelijks gebruik van spreken, inde Nederduytse taal gebruykt worden* (Leiden, 1668). Other copies carry a new title page with the author's true name and the imprint "t'Amsterdam, Gedrukt voor den Schrijver. In 't jaer 1668." ("Amsterdam, Printed for the author, 1668.")

ostensibly a dictionary of theological, legal and medical foreign terms as well as foreign words in conversational Dutch, however presenting within that frame-work a radical critique of religious dogma. Johannes was suspected of harboring beliefs highly improper for a theologian. After they had often clashed with the church authorities, the brothers were tried by the magistrate of Amsterdam. Again and again on July 20, 1668, while Adriaan was under examination, the prosecutor questioned him about his relations with Spinoza and attempted to obtain from him a confession that he had discussed his book with Spinoza, that it contained Spinoza's teachings and, in particular, that his opinions on Jesus had been influenced by talks with Spinoza.²² Adriaan was condemned to 10 years in prison, but subjected to such cruel torture while he was in jail that he died in October, 1669.

Rieuwerts, the publisher, also had cause to be particularly careful at the time the *Tractatus* was in preparation. In the spring of 1669 a newly printed collection of Socinian and related writings, *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, had appeared in Amsterdam and was sold through clandestine channels. The Church Council of Amsterdam, furious that the archenemy "raised his head so arrogantly," ordered an investigation and issued specific instructions "that the shop of Jan Rieuwerts in Dirck van Assensteech be watched."²³ Amid all these forebodings of imminent danger the *Tractatus* was approaching publication.

Before we follow the early history of the book, one point remains to be considered: Why did Rieuwerts, or Rieuwerts and Spinoza, pick the name "Künraht" for the fictitious imprint? Willem Meijer has pointed out²⁴ that the name was used in other books of the period for the same purpose. He suggested that Rieuwerts may have alluded to Henricus Künrath, a Rosicrucian and author of the occult book, *Amphitheatrum sapientiae aeternae solius verae, Christiano-Kabalisticum, Divino-Magicum . . .*, which appeared in Hamburg in 1611, 1648 and 1651. This conjecture, in Meijer's opinion, is supposed by the fact that Spinoza was rumored to be himself a Rosicrucian.²⁵ However, the three examples of similar use cited by Meijer are books which appeared after the *Tractatus*, and two of them, the *Specimen artis ratiocinandi* by Spinoza's

friend, Abraham Johannes Cuffeler (1684) and *La vie de Spinoza par un de ses disciples* (1735), use Künrath's name in imitation of the imprint of the *Tractatus*. Vincentius Placcius, the eighteenth century bibliographer, working with a slightly changed spelling of the name (Kühnraht), supposed the name had been used for its etymological meaning, *Kühn-Raht* signifying "audacious counsel."²⁶ Of course, lacking any contemporary clues, nobody can at this late date state with accuracy why the name "Künraht" was chosen. J. P. N. Land simply and *en passant* assumed that the name had reference to Christoffel Conrad, the printer.²⁷ This seems more plausible than the other explanations because in Dutch Conrad's name appears as Coenradt, Cunradus or Kunrad.²⁸

The *Tractatus* appeared late in 1669 or early in 1670.²⁹ It did not take long for a barrage of vilification to be hurled at the book. Some of the professors and clergymen who raised their voices in shrill anger knew the author's name. But whether they knew or not made no difference; their reaction was equally vituperative. Franz Burmann the elder, professor of theology at the University of Utrecht, read the book in April, 1670, excerpted it, noted the author's name carefully in his diary and wrote on July 5 to his friend, the Hebraist Jacobus Alting of Groningen, imploring him to "smash and destroy this exceedingly pestilential book."³⁰ On May 8, Jacob Thomasius, Leibniz' teacher at the University of Leipzig, thundered in an academic "program" against the *Tractatus* and its author, "that abominable monster shunning the light."³¹ On

22 "Confessieboek, Stedelijk Archief, Amsterdam," in Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 119 ff.

A detailed report of the entire trial is found in Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 293-324.

23 Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 325 f.

24 "De veris et fictis *Tractatus Theologico-politici* editoribus," pp. 265 ff.

25 The same argument was advanced by Charles Singer, "The Pseudonym of Spinoza's Publisher," in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. 1 (London, 1937), pp. 77 f. This note also asserts that Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* (Amsterdam, 1677), "bears at the foot of the title page the name of Jan Rieuwerts, the younger." This is false. The *Opera* carries on its title page only the year of publication, 1677, without any indication of the place of publication or the name of the publisher.

26 *Theatrum pseudonymorum et anonymorum*, Vol. 1 (Hamburg, 1708), p. 176.

27 "Over vier drukken met het jaartal 1670 van Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*," in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*, 2^{de} reeks, deel XI (Amsterdam, 1882), p. 151.

28 A. M. Ledebor, *Alfabetische lijst der boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers*, pp. 39, 102; M. M. Kleerkooper, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, pp. 622 ff. The title page of the Dutch translation of the *Tractatus* spells the name of the publisher "Koenraad."

29 "... aut exeunte anno LXIX, aut ineunte LXX typis describi debuerit"; Franz Burman the younger, *Burmannonum pietas* (Utrecht, 1700), p. 204. Meinsma stated that the *Tractatus* appeared in the first week of January 1670, but he did not mention the source for this exact date; *Spinoza en zijn kring*, p. 328.

30 Franz Burman the younger, *Burmannonum pietas*, pp. 211, 228 f. Ironically, Burmann the elder (1628-1679) later was accused of being a Spinozist. Philipp Limborch, the famous Remonstrant theologian in *Theologia Christiana* (1678) denounced him for having inserted in his *Synopsis theologiae* Spinozistic phrases. Burmann's son wrote *Burmannonum pietas* to vindicate his father.

31 Thomasius' academic "program" appeared for the first time in print together with an equally abusive speech made by Johannes Conrad Dürr, professor of philosophy and theology, in June, 1671, at the University of Altdorf: *M. Johannis Conradi Dürrii . . . Actus panegyricus . . . Habes hic, lectore benevole, . . . Orationem de praepostera et impia libertate philosophandi, praesertim in religionis negotio, oppositum Tractatui theologico-politico scriptoris lucifugae . . .*

June 1 Friedrich Rappolt in his inaugural oration at the University of Leipzig denounced the naturalism in "that extremely bad book."³² In August, Johann Melchior, a preacher in a village near Bonn, enlightened a friend about "the deceits of this man of extraordinary insolence [a descendent of Xinospa] woven to confuse the truth of our faith."³³ In 1671 Johann Ludwig Fabricius, professor of philosophy and theology at the University of Heidelberg, called for the suppression of the "brazen" book to keep it away from Germany and German students.³⁴ And so it went on, *crescendo*, each outburst taking its cue from preceding ones, heaping abuse upon abuse.

The Dutch theologians were not as quick as the Germans to send their denunciations to the printer.³⁵ A Heidelberg professor, Friedrich Mieg, reported to a colleague in Herborn that the publication of the *Tractatus* had created turbulence in Holland;³⁶ but the first anti-Spinozistic book by a Dutch author, a Remonstrant preacher at The Hague, appeared only in 1673. He was Jacob Batelier (Vatelier, Batalerius), who warned the civil authorities that the *Tractatus* was to undermine the foundations of the entire state.³⁷

The church authorities of Holland did not wait for encouragement from the learned writers of the land. Their crusade opened on June 30, 1670, when the

Accessit ejusdem argumenti Programma Lipsiense M. Jacobi Thomasii . . . (Jena, 1672). This booklet erroneously gives the date of Thomasius' "program" as May 8, 1671. The collection of Thomasius' dissertations, *Dissertationes LXIII* (Halle and Magdeburg, 1693), p. 571, contains the correct date which is also supported by a letter from Leibniz to Thomasius, September, 1670; Ludwig Stein, *Leibniz und Spinoza* (Berlin, 1890), p. 32.

³² "Oratio contra naturalistas," in Rappolt, *Opera theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica* (Leipzig, 1693), pp. 1383 ff., 2168.

³³ Published a year later under the title *Epistola ad amicum, continens censuram libri, cui titulus: Tractatus theologico-politicus* (Utrecht, 1671).

³⁴ Joh. Ludovici Fabrici *Opera, omnia, quibus praemittitur Historia vitae et obitus ejusdem, auctore Joh. Henrico Heideggero* (Zurich, 1698), pp. 70 f. of the *Historia*. Ironically, it was this same Fabricius who, two years later, in behalf of the more enlightened Elector of the Palatinate, offered Spinoza a professorship at the University of Heidelberg.

³⁵ For this they were reproached in Jean-Baptiste Stoupe's *La religion des Hollandais* (Paris, 1673): "Entre tous les Theologiens qui sont dans ce pais, il ne s'en trouve aucun qui ait osé écrire contre les opinions que cet Auteur avance dans son Traité . . . S'ils continuent dans ce silence, on ne pourra s'empêcher de dire, ou qu'ils n'ont point de charité, en laissant sans réponse un Livre si pernicieux, ou qu'ils approuvent les sentimens de cet Auteur, ou qu'ils n'ont pas le courage & la force de les refuter." (pp. 94 f.)

³⁶ Mieg to Samuel Andreae, June 28, 1670; in Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 193.

³⁷ *Vindiciae miraculorum, per quae divinae religionis & fidei Christianae veritas olim confirmata suit, adversus profanum auctorem Tractatus theologico-politici* (Amsterdam, 1673). All seventeenth and eighteenth century sources cite this little book as having appeared in 1674. Thus it is listed in the Spinoza bibliography by van der Linde who could not locate a copy. The copy of the British Museum is of 1674, mine of 1673. Batelier completed the writing of the book on January 23, 1672.

Church Council of Amsterdam, convoked in a special session, resolved to ask the County Synod and the Synod of the Province to note "the impudence of the Papacy and the Socinians, and the licentious printing of books, particularly of that pernicious book called *Tractatus theologico-politicus*."³⁸ The preachers well understood that the *Tractatus* was not merely another piece of errant theological writing. They realized it was a *political* book which supported the supremacy of the state's authority against any encroachments by religion. They knew that the author had in mind the current state of Dutch affairs, namely the fight of the Reformed Church against the Republican States-Rights party and its leader, Jan de Witt, when they read in the preface of the *Tractatus*: "It is first necessary to show the main prejudices which surround religion, namely the vestiges of ancient servitude, and then to shew the prejudices surrounding the right of the sovereign authorities which many with impudent brazenness attempt to usurp by trying to alienate, under the cover of religion, the minds of the people in order to throw everything again into servitude."³⁹ It was clear to the church leaders that in their war against the *Tractatus* no effective support could be expected from the high state authorities whose case was so forcefully pleaded in the book, more aggressively in fact than some thought was politically wise. But even if the churchmen had to soft-pedal the political aspects, they could still incite influential religious assemblies and stir up public opinion against the book by denouncing its atheism. Thus during the years following the publication of the *Tractatus* local protest actions were organized in various cities and higher church authorities were approached with the urgent demand that prominent citizens and civil authorities be pressured into action.⁴⁰

The example of the Church Council of Amsterdam was followed by other local church authorities. The Synods of North and South Holland, Utrecht, Dordrecht and Friesland met and voted to demand that the *Tractatus* be banned. Eventually, a resolution to that effect reached the President and Councillors of the Court of Holland. They, in turn, forwarded it to the States of Holland and West Friesland. On April 24, 1671, the States referred to a commission the request "to prevent that such books be printed, distributed and sold here; to prohibit by a special ordinance the printing, importing and selling of such soul-corrupting books under severe penalty; to find the authors, printers, importers and distributors and proceed against them once they have been found."⁴¹ But the commission did not act. Petitions and reports became mysteriously lost.

³⁸ Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 121.

³⁹ *Opera*, ed. Gebhardt, Vol. 3, p. 7. Anti-Jan de Witt pamphlets, distributed in 1672, went as far as to say that the *Tractatus*, "forged in Hell by a Jew turned apostate together with the devil" had been published with the knowledge of De Witt; Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 194 f.

⁴⁰ The pertinent documents are published in Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 121-154.

⁴¹ Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 126.

The members of the committee, as they explained, were so busy with work on other committees that they had no time to call the committee on dangerous atheistic books. Jan de Witt and some of Spinoza's friends in civil posts were still powerful enough to brake any move that might harm their friend. There were Johann Hudde, the mayor of Amsterdam, who had discussed with the philosopher the art of grinding lenses as well as the proofs for God's unity;⁴² Abraham Cuffeler, who later was to write a book defending Spinoza's philosophy;⁴³ Conrad Burgh, comptroller general of Holland, whose son Albert was Spinoza's disciple; and others, less well-known but also helpful. Jan de Witt was murdered in 1672, yet Spinoza's friends were still, for some time, able to postpone the banning of the book. Even after William of Orange and the Court of Holland in July, 1674, had issued an edict ordering the confiscation of the *Tractatus*, not much official effort was put into its enforcement. The church councils and synods complained bitterly that the godless book was still for sale and urged their deputies again to bombard the authorities with appeals for relief. Only in 1678, after Spinoza's death and the publication of his *Opera posthuma* in Latin as well as in a Dutch translation, was an edict issued, against the *Opera* and the *Tractatus*, which had teeth. Finally, a secular power was willing to back the churches, for a long time not too effective, assault against unorthodox philosophy and theology. William of Orange could not afford to antagonize the Reformed Church and its ministers and thus lose their support in maintaining and fortifying his power.

Until that year, however, the *Tractatus*, though under constant attack, had been available to be purchased, read, discussed and even, sometimes, defended. For at least seven years, judging from the frantic reports of the church councils and synods, there had been no interruption in the supply of the book in its original Latin form. Ingenious devices were used by the publisher to deceive the censors, and thereby hangs the complex and fascinating bibliographical tale of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

For almost 100 years it has been known that the first quarto edition of 1670 of the *Tractatus* was in truth several editions. In 1865, Johann Georg Theodor Graesse became the first to notice that copies of the "first edition" showed variants. The spelling of the fictitious name of the publisher varied. It was "Künraht" in some copies, "Künrath" in others. The last printed page, p. 234, containing the "Errata typographica sic corrigenda" was not found in all copies, and the heading "Praefatio" (following the title page), he said, was set in different type-sizes.

42 Epistolae XXXIV–XXXVI, *Opera*, Vol. 4, pp. 179–187.

43 *Specimen artis ratiocinandi naturalis & artificialis ad pantosophiae principia manuducens* (Hamburg [Amsterdam], 1684).

(Graesse slightly errs here; the type-size in "Praefatio" is the same, merely the spacing is different.)⁴⁴ In 1880 Max Heinze went a step further. He compared a "Künraht" with a "Künrath" version and found in the latter "the errors listed on the last page mostly corrected, but new ones added, some of which distort the meaning."⁴⁵ In the following year J.P.N. Land, a Dutch orientalist and professor of philosophy, who, with J. van Vloten, was preparing a critical edition of Spinoza's works, made a thorough comparison of copies of the *Tractatus* in various libraries and collections and succeeded in finding four different printings, each bearing the year 1670.⁴⁶

More recently in this century Carl Gebhardt in his critical edition of the *Tractatus* confirmed Land's findings and further secured them through a more comprehensive collation of the various editions. He also accepted Land's conclusions as to the years in which they were printed and further supplemented them: only one edition, the true *editio princeps*, was of 1670, and three others were published after the ban of the *Tractatus* in 1674 and predated 1670; two of these were printed after 1677.⁴⁷ However, though the sequence of the quarto editions is correct as Land and Gebhardt determined it, their dating is not. An edition unknown to them changes that part of their findings. And, as we will show, Gebhardt's conclusions regarding the octavo editions of the *Tractatus* with which Land was not concerned are entirely incorrect.

The First Edition (T₁)

The genuine first edition of the *Tractatus* which appeared late in 1669 or early 1670 (T₁) is the one designated as such by Land and Gebhardt (Land: A; Gebhardt: Druck 1). It spells the fictitious publisher's name "Künraht," contains all the typographical errors enumerated in the list of errata and misprints page

44 *Trésor des livres rares et précieux*, Vol. 6 (Dresden, 1865), p. 469. A. van der Linde remained unaware of Graesse's observations; his Spinoza bibliography (1871) describes a copy of the Library at The Hague which is not the true first edition.

45 Überweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. Max Heinze, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1880), p. 220. Heinze also, wrongly, concluded that there was a "third edition" which Paulus had followed in his edition of Spinoza's works, identical with the "second edition" but omitting the Hebrew quotations from the Old Testament. Heinze should not be blamed for this mistake; Paulus had claimed to follow the original faithfully; "Nostra editio unam illam originariam accurate sequitur"; *Benedicti de Spinoza Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Henr. Eberh. Gottlob Paulus, Vol. 1 (Jena, 1802), p. vi, but probably because of the difficulties of setting Hebrew type, he had omitted all lengthy Hebrew passages.

46 "Over vier drukken met het jaartal 1670 van Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*," pp. 148–158.

47 *Opera*, Vol. 3, pp. 363–372, particularly p. 367. A summary of Land's and Gebhardt's designation of editions and their dates is given in A. G. Wernham's "Introduction to the Text" of his edition and translation of Spinoza's *Political Works* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 42 f.

104 as 304.⁴⁸ As Land and Gebhardt have shown, it must have preceded all the others. Each printing was obviously the model for the following printing. This is evidenced by a number of instances in which the text of the later printings shows more corruptions than the first one; by certain textual changes in which a text, initially correct, became corrupted and was then, more or less adequately, corrected by a conjecture of the later typesetter; or finally by typographical improvements made in the later printings.⁴⁹ An additional piece of supporting, though not conclusive, evidence can be added. The earliest Dutch writer attacking the *Tractatus*, Jacob Batelier, wrote his philippic in 1671 and reprinted in it the entire sixth chapter of Spinoza's work copying from T.₁.⁵⁰

When Land deduced that there had to be such a first edition and was searching for it, he found only one copy, in the University Library of Königsberg, which carried a number of Spinoza's handwritten marginal annotations. The philosopher had inscribed it on July 25, 1676, to Dr. Jacob Statius Klefman. However T.₁ is not so rare as it seemed to Land; a number of libraries and collections have it.⁵¹

The Second Edition (T.₂ and T._{2a})

The second edition (T.₂) is dated 1672 (Fig. 1). Its title page is identical with T.₁, excepting the last line which reads: Apud Henricum Künraht. MDCLXXII.

⁴⁸ I list merely the main distinguishing features which are sufficient to identify the various editions. The most detailed listing of variants, through by no means complete, is given by Gebhardt, *Opera*, Vol. 3 pp. 364–371.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁵⁰ *Vindiciae miraculorum*, pp. 9–34; about this book see above, note 35. Its rarity is probably due to the fact that it contained, in full, Spinoza's strong attack against miracles and thus became, in spite of its good intentions, a dangerous book also.

⁵¹ Nevertheless antiquarian bookdealers usually offer this edition as "Unknown to van der Linde; only one other copy known at the University Library at Königsberg."

As a matter of fact, the Klefmann copy, which in the beginning of the nineteenth century Professor Schuetz of Königsberg had purchased at an auction and given to the library of Count Wallenrod which later became part of the Königsberg University Library, is no longer there. In the last year of World War II, Professor Oskar Ehrhardt of the University found it lying in a street of the burning city. He gave it to his son-in-law, Hans Iwand, professor of theology at the University of Göttingen. Iwand offered the book to Mr. van der Tak of the Dutch association *Het Spinoza Huis* in Amsterdam. However, for reasons not entirely clear, nothing came of this offer (*Verslag omtrent de lotgevallen der Vereeniging Het Spinozahuis*, 1950 and 1951). In February, 1951, Professor Iwand donated the precious book, the only Spinoza association copy in existence, to the Spinozaeum in Haifa, Israel — in memory, as he wrote, "of my wife just deceased whose mother belonged to the same people to whom we are indebted for the philosopher of the *Theologico-Political Treatise* and the *Ethics more geometrico demonstrata*." (According to information furnished to me by C. Worman, director of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem.)

TRACTATUS THEOLOGICO- POLITICUS

Continens

Differtationes aliquot,

Quibus ostenditur Libertatem Philosophandi non tantum
falva Pietate, & Reipublicæ Pace posse concedi: sed
eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipsaque
Pietate tolli non posse.

Benedicti Auctore Spinoza.
Johann: Epist: I. Cap: IV. vers: XIII.

*Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet
in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis.*



Figure 1. The Second Edition of 1672 (T.₂).

It contains the list of errata on the last page; however six of the thirteen typographical errors enumerated in it are corrected in the text. A number of Latin and Hebrew words and phrases printed correctly in T.₁ are misspelled or rendered incorrectly. A few misprints of T.₁ are remedied. T.₂ is easily recognizable by three typographical errors: page 42 reads 24, page 207 reads 213, Cap. XIV on page 161 reads Cap. XVI.

To the best of my knowledge, none of the early bibliographical listings of Spinoza's works mentioned this edition. The first indication that there was such an edition appeared in Emil Weller's bibliography of masked places of printing, *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte* (Leipzig, 1864).⁵² Then a copy appeared in 1893 in Catalogue No. 29 of the Leipzig firm of Max Weg, part of a rich collection of books by and about Spinoza⁵³ which an American philanthropist, Abraham Abraham, donated to the library of Cornell University. Stanislaus von Dunin Borkowski briefly referred to T.₂ and its rarity.⁵⁴ Of the two copies which he mentions, one at the Museum Gebhardtianum and the other in the University Library in Zurich, Switzerland, the former is now in the library of Columbia University. A fourth copy is in my collection.

Since Gebhardt did not know T.₂ at the time he edited the Heidelberg edition of Spinoza's works, he missed the clue to the correct chronology of the second edition. For the issue which Gebhardt designated as Druck II (Land: B) is in all details identical with T.₂ except that its title page bears the year 1670. A close examination of the title pages of T.₂ and Gebhardt's Druck II (which we will call T._{2a}) shows that both are integral parts of the first sheets; identical to the extent that in both the dot over the "i" in "dedit" is missing; merely the last line containing the date, is different, giving it as either MDCLXXII or MDCLXX. Obviously only this line was reset to substitute 1670 for 1672; otherwise the type remained unchanged. Copies of T.₂, those dated 1672, are very rare whereas copies of T._{2a}, the same printing with the date 1670, occur more often. Evidently the change from 1672 to 1670 was made after only relatively few sheets had come off the press. Land and Gebhardt set the date of publication of T._{2a} as after 1674, some time between 1674 and 1677. The existence of T.₂, however, invalidates their conclusion; the correct date of T._{2a} is 1672. Theoretically, of course, it also would be possible that T._{2a} preceded T.₂, but since all later quarto editions carry the date 1670, this possibility is unlikely. The purpose of the change from T.₂ to T._{2a} as well as of the later editions dated 1670 was to make it appear that the copies were of the original edition, since a new edition would

provide new ammunition for the groups clamoring for the ban of the book.

A letter from Spinoza written on February 17, 1671, to Jarig Jelles, a Collegiant friend who had financed the printing of his first book, reflects the apprehension which the moves of his enemies had produced in the philosopher. Spinoza had learned from a professor visiting him that "someone had translated the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* into Dutch and someone else, he did not know who, planned to have it printed. I urge you most seriously to learn whether this is true and, if possible, prevent the publication. This is not only my wish, but also the wish of my good acquaintances who would hate to see the book banned which doubtless would happen if it comes out in Dutch."⁵⁵ Here and there a local official went ahead on his own and confiscated the *Tractatus*.⁵⁶ But in the summer of 1672 it appeared that the concerted efforts of the orthodox church groups had been checked by official indifference and delaying tactics; from September, 1671, to July, 1672, the church councils and synods were silent. It was probably at that time that Rieuwertsz made the plans for the edition of 1672. However, on August 4, 1672, Jan de Witt was forced to resign as Grand Pensionary and, a few weeks later, a savage mob murdered him in the streets of Amsterdam. Spinoza had lost his great protector. It seems reasonable to assume that at that time T.₂ was changed to T._{2a}. And as the political climate worsened after De Witt's death, greater prudence became necessary. Thus, the next edition of the *Tractatus* appeared even more masked than the previous ones.

The Third Edition (T.₃H, T.₃V, T.₃S, T.₃T, T.₃E)

The third edition of the *Tractatus* was published in 1673 and the title page did not reveal its contents at all. It appeared in octavo with a choice of three fictitious title pages so that, depending on which was used, the dangerous book seemed to be an innocuous collection of the surgical works of Franciscus Henriquez de Villacorta, a contemporary Spanish physician and professor at the University of Alcalá de Henares, the historical writings of Daniel Heinsius, the great Dutch classicist (1580–1655), or a medical book by Franciscus de la Boe Sylvius, famous professor of medicine at Leyden (1614–1672) who had just died. The titles of this third edition read as follows:

⁵⁵ Epistola XLIV, *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 227.

⁵⁶ On April 12, 1671, Johann Georg Graevius, professor of eloquence in Utrecht, informed Leibniz that Spinoza was the author of the *Tractatus*, that it had been "outlawed" by the authorities ("proscriptus est ab Ordinibus"), but that he could get him a copy; Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften*, ed. C. J. Gerhard, Vol. 1 (Berlin, 1875), p. 115. On September 14–18, 1671, the Synod of Utrecht reported about its drive against heretical books: "Nothing has been done yet with respect to the *Leviathan* [by Hobbes]; the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* has been confiscated; the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum* [a collection of Socinian writings] has not been for sale here." Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 130, 270, note to p. 125, No. 36.

⁵² Vol. 1, p. 274.

⁵³ *Bibliotheca Spinozana. Eine überaus reichhaltige Sammlung von Schriften von und über Benedictus Spinoza. Neben fast allen bekannten Bildnissen Spinozas* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 2.

⁵⁴ *Spinoza*, Vol. 4 (Münster i. W., 1936), p. 85.

The Villacorta Edition (T₃V): Francisci Henriquez/de/Villacorta/Doctoris Medici/à Cubiculo Regali Phil. IV. & Caroli II./Archiatr./Opera Chirurgica Omnia/Sub auspiciis Potentissimi Hisp. Regis/Caroli II/[Vignette]/Amstelodami/Apud Jacobum Paulii/1673./

The Heinsius Edition (T₃H): Danielis Heinsii P.P./Operum/Histori-/corum/Collectio/Prima./Editio Secunda, priori editione multo emen-/dator & auctor/accedunt quaedam hactenus inedita./[Vignette]/Lugd. Batav./Apud Isaacum Herculis/1673./

The Sylvius Edition (T₃S): Totius/Medicinae/idea nova/seu/Francisci de le Boe/Sylvii./Medici inter Batavos celeberrimi/Opera Omnia/Novas potissimum super morborum causis, sympto-/matis & curandi ratione meditationes &/disputationes continetia/Secunda Editio/ad Autoris exemplar correctae./[Vignette]/Amstelodami/Apud Carolum Gratiani/1673./

T₃ was printed and appeared together, in one volume, with Ludwig Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*. The appended work also was without any indication of its true identity, hiding under the same spurious titles. In T₃H and T₃S the inside title pages preceding the *Philosophia* alleged that the second work was the second part of the collection; in T₃V the second title page merely showed a different vignette.⁵⁷ The printer of T₃ no doubt is the same as that of the quarto editions; the vignette on the second title of T₃V is identical with the title vignette of the quarto editions. The three title variants of T₃, seemingly appeared at the same time during the year 1673.⁵⁸ In most of the few existing copies the title pages are not cancels; each of the different title pages is an integral part of the first sheet of T₃V, T₃H or T₃S;⁵⁹ one copy came to light (in Rijnsburg, Holland) which has all of the three titles (T₃S/H/V).⁶⁰

57 The fact that Meyer's *Philosophia* appeared with the *Tractatus* in one volume contributed to ascribing the authorship of the former work to Spinoza; see above, p. 11.

Christoph August Heumann, an eighteenth century bibliographer discussing the masked editions of Meyer's book, suggested a ludicrous reason for the use of the name Villacorta; the names Meyer and Villacorta, he said, mean etymologically the same, namely "administrator of a country home," "Meier" in German, "vilicus" in Latin; *De libris anonymis ac pseudonymis schediasma* (Jena, 1711), pp. 100f.

58 See the resolutions quoted p. 20.

59 Information from Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle, Germany; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria; Landesbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany. The title pages preceding Meyer's *Philosophia* are also not cancels.

60 W. Meijer, *Spinoza, Een levensbeeld* (Amsterdam, 1915), p. 33, n. 13. The first French translation of the *Tractatus* which appeared in 1678 under three different fictitious titles was handled similarly. My collection contains four variants with seven different title pages. One copy bears the title *La Clef du sanctuaire par un sçavant homme de notre siècle*. The title of the second copy reads *Traité des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs tant anciens que modernes*. A third copy has three title pages namely *Traité des ceremonies*, *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit*

The ruse of using an inoffensive author and title to cover the censurable book⁶¹ was quickly discovered. On December 8, 1673, the Church Council of Leiden announced "that a certain book, named *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and *Philosophia Scripturae interpres*, both in octavo and bound in one, have been printed and published under fictitious titles. The first bears the title *Francisci de la Boe Sylvii Opera Medica Omnia, Editio secunda*, printed in Amsterdam by Gratianum. The second has for a title page *Danielis Heinsii p.p. operum Historicorum Collectio secunda* at Leiden [by] Isaak Hercules. Thus the names of honest and learned gentlemen are being shamefully misused and transformed. The Reverend Assembly having listened to this with abhorrence recommends after due consideration approaching not only the relatives of said gentlemen, but also appealing . . . [to the authorities] that such doings be vigorously stopped and prevented."⁶² Five days later the States of Holland and West-Friesland acknowledged the information received from Leiden and resolved to petition the Court of Holland to consider measures "how and in which way irreligious books under false titles can be stopped and prevented."⁶³ On July 19, 1674, the Court of Holland condemned the *Tractatus* and the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* and prohibited their printing, distribution and sale.⁶⁴

The prosecution of the octavo edition of the *Tractatus* was effective.⁶⁵ In his

des-intéressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier, and *La Clef du sanctuaire*. The first two title pages of this third copy are cancels and the first and third differ from those of the first and second copies (different type sizes, different spacing and different title vignettes); otherwise the three copies are identical. My fourth copy has two titles, *Reflexions* and *Traité*, the first a cancel. This copy is a new printing in its entirety; the type throughout is slightly larger and considerably clearer; the issue can be identified by the misprint PREEACE on page 16 of the introduction.

Morelli, a Jewish physician turned Catholic, who was a friend of the French translator, Gabriel de Saint-Glain, told Des Maizeaux, the annotator of Bayle's letters, that the original title used for the translation was *La Clef du sanctuaire*. This title, however, created such a commotion that it was decided to change it to *Traité* and *Reflexions*; Bayle, *Oeuvres diverses*, Vol. 4 (The Hague, 1737), p. 574, note to letter XXXIII.

61 Using unobjectionable title pages for heretical or subversive books is a time-honored device; see Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs*, Nouvelle édition, Vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1725), pp. 170 f. In the forties of the nineteenth century, the liberal and early Socialist writings of German political refugees were smuggled into Germany under such titles as *Hausbuch für das christliche Heim* ("Family Book for the Christian Home"). In our days, clandestine anti Hitler literature appeared in Nazi Germany with titles bearing swastikas and Hitler slogans. Allied propaganda literature dropped over Germany by planes and balloons was similarly disguised.

62 Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 136 f.

63 *Ibid.*, pp. 137 f.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 139 f.

65 "Ses Sectateurs n'osent pas se découvrir, parce que son Livre renverse absolument les fon-

TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-POLITICVS,

Cui adjunctus est
Philosophia S. Scripturæ
INTERPRES.

Spinoza
Ab Authore longè Emendatior.



—cave ne titubes; latet Anguis in herba.

Anno Dom. 1674.

Figure 2. The Third Edition with the "English" Title Page.

day, van der Linde could not locate one copy in Holland⁶⁶ and only a few copies found their way abroad.⁶⁷ Faced with the quick discovery of the "fraud" and the unequivocal prohibition of the sale of the book which made distribution in Holland impossible, the publisher, however, found another channel to dispose of his stock. T.₃ equipped with a new title page was sold in England (T.₃E).⁶⁸

The "English" title page openly disclosed the contents of the book; in the absence of prosecution there was no need to hide what was in the volume. The new title page (Fig. 2) read *Tractatus / Theologico-Politicus, / Cui adjunctus est / Philosophia S. Scripturæ / Ab Authore longè Emendatior* / [Vignette] / Anno Dom. 1674. / A cancel, it was pasted to the first page after the fictitious title pages had been removed. The second titles which had separated the *Tractatus* from the *Philosophia* were not replaced, the new title page listing both works.

Type and style for the title page of this new variant of the third edition were chosen to give it an English appearance. It leads off with a line in Pierre Haultin's St. Augustin Roman and has three lines in Nicholas Nicholls's Great Primer Roman and Italic besides one in a Double Pica Roman also sold by Nicholls. These and the flower are all found in London printing at the time and the letters also in Leonard Lichfield's at Oxford. The flower appears in London books from 1657 until 1673 through, in all probability, it was originally Dutch. The Romans and Italics of the Nicholls foundry in London are also found in books printed at Amsterdam. Although the type of T.₃E is old and worn, it looks as if it was originally cast too regularly for an English founder and the matrices were Dutch. Thus it seems justified to assume that the "English" title originated in Holland, an assumption further supported by the skill, a bit foreign to England,

demens de toutes les Religions, & qu'il a esté condamné par un decret public des Etats, & qu'on a deffendu de le vendre, bien qu'on ne laisse pas de le vendre publiquement." Stoupe, *La Religion des Hollandois*, pp. 93 f.

66 *Benedictus Spinoza bibliografie*, Nos. 4 (Halle), 5 (Gotha) and 6 (Vienna).

67 E. Böhmer, whose diligent and systematic search unearthed so many treasures of Spinoza literature, discovered copies in the German libraries of Berlin, Dresden, Gotha, Leipzig, Halle and in Vienna; "Spinozana," in *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, Vol. 36 (1860), pp. 150 f. Some of these copies perished in World War II. So did an incomplete copy of T.₃H, the second part containing Meyer's *Philosophia*, from the Spinoza collection, Catalogue 598 of Joseph Baer & Co., antiquarian bookdealers in Frankfurt-on-Main (No. 101). This collection (*Spinoza. Katalog einer Sammlung seiner Werke, der Schriften seiner Anhänger und Schüler und der Literatur über ihn*), acquired in 1911 for Konstantin Brunner and later given by the German government to the University of Louvain, Belgium, as partial restitution for the burning-down of its library in World War I, was destroyed in May, 1940, when for the second time the entire library became a war casualty.

68 There are other instances of seventeenth century Dutch-printed books (Hobbes' *Leviathan*, Socinian writings) which were imported into England. (Information from William A. Jackson, Librarian, Houghton Library, Harvard University.)

with which the title is spaced (lead and letter-spaced).⁶⁹ Some of the old bibliographers already knew that T₃E was an "English" edition. J. C. Wolf noted that the edition had been published in England;⁷⁰ Gottlieb Stolle, the German scholar who had visited young Rieuwertsz,⁷¹ wrote of the rarity of "the English edition printed 1674 in octavo";⁷² and Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten stated "that according to the consensus of writers arrangements for the edition were made in England."⁷³ Walch and Trinius went further and asserted that Henry Oldenburg had managed the edition.⁷⁴ However, it is plainly impossible that Spinoza's old English friend was involved in the salvage operation. True, it was he who had urged Spinoza in 1665 to write the *Tractatus*;⁷⁵ but soon after that letter their correspondence stopped. Oldenburg was in trouble, suspected "of carrying on political correspondence with parties abroad, obnoxious to Charles II and the Government" and, in 1667, he was for a short while imprisoned in the Tower.⁷⁶ This was certainly reason enough not to compromise himself further by a close association with a dangerous political philosopher living in a country with which England was at war. The estrangement lasted until 1675, two years after T₃E appeared. In that year Count Ehrenfried Walter von Tschirnhaus, a young scientist and correspondent of Spinoza, was in London to meet the members of the Royal Society and found Oldenburg and Robert Boyle, the physicist and chemist, harboring odd opinions about Spinoza and the *Tractatus*. Tschirnhaus succeeded in clearing up the misunderstanding,⁷⁷ and Oldenburg resumed writing to his old friend. On June 8, 1675, he thanked Spinoza for sending him a copy of the *Tractatus* (though he had not yet received it)⁷⁸—conclusive proof that he had nothing to do with the publication in 1674 of T₃E.

The old bibliographers did not recognize that T₃E was T₃V, H or S with a

new "English" title page. E. Böhmer came close to discovering it. He examined his copy of T₃E and found that its title page was a cancel and pasted in the book, having replaced a previous title, since without one the first sheet would be incomplete. In the only other copy available to him, that of the library of Hamburg, he found remnants of the original title which he identified as either of T₃H or T₃V.⁷⁹ He thus established the correct sequence of the variants, T₃E following T₃V, H and S. Van der Linde and others recognized the identity of these four variants but did not go into the problem of the date.⁸⁰

Carl Gebhardt, who did go into this problem, arrived at entirely erroneous conclusions.⁸¹ He regarded the title page of T₃E as the original one and stated that it was "certainly printed in Holland during the first half of 1674 before the ordinance of the Court of Holland prohibited a new printing of the *Tractatus*." From there he went on to say that the fictitious titles were the result of that ordinance and that "no doubt" they were predated 1673 "to eliminate the suspicion of a violation of the law since in 1673 the printing of the book was still allowed." Obviously, Böhmer's article had appeared in a journal many years before and went unnoticed by most other scholars. But it is difficult to see how Gebhardt could have overlooked or misread the Dutch records prior and leading to the banning of the *Tractatus* in 1674, which clearly and repeatedly mention the fictitious titles.⁸²

If still more proof is necessary that the "English" title page of 1674 replaced the spurious titles, a recently discovered copy which contains both the "English" title and one of the original spurious ones provides it. Offered in Catalogue 41 of the English antiquarian bookseller Charles W. Traylen and now in the possession of Professor K. B. Smellie of London, it has the title page of T₃E, but also, preceding the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, the original inside title of T₃H, *Operum historicorum collectio*, etc. (T₃E/H). Whoever cut out the spurious titles and put in the "English" title forgot, in this case, to cut out the second one.

And as a last point of evidence, most of the copies of T₃E found in libraries and collections and those still appearing in bookdealers' catalogues are of English provenance.⁸³ In many copies the binding, in others the former ownership, is in English.⁸⁴

79 "Spinozana," pp. 150 ff.

80 *Benedictus Spinoza bibliografie*, No. 7.

81 *Opera*, Vol. 3, p. 367. Land erred similarly in his introduction to Willem Meijer's Dutch translation of the *Tractatus: Godgeleerd-Staatskundig Vertoog* (Amsterdam, 1894), p. 15.

82 See above p. 20; C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme* (Amsterdam, 1954), p. 394, n. 6, also noted Gebhardt's error.

83 T₃E is not very rare, though Stolle, Böhmer ("two copies") and other writers so indicate.

84 Böhmer's copy, for example, was originally owned by Thomas Smith, the Oxford scholar

69 Information from H. G. Carter, Oxford, England, to whom I am deeply grateful for his typographical examination of the title page of T₃E.

70 *Bibliotheca hebraea*, Vol. 1 (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1715), p. 240.

71 See above pp. 9–10.

72 *Anmerkungen über D. Heumanns Conspectum reipublicae literariae* (Jena, 1738), p. 977.

73 *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*, Vol. 9 (Halle, 1756), pp. 319 f. See also his *Nachrichten von einer hallischen Bibliothek*, Vol. 1 (Halle, 1748), p. 74.

74 Io. Georgius Walch, *Bibliotheca theologica selecta*, Vol. 1 (Jena, 1757), p. 679; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 420.

75 See above p. 10.

76 Charles Richard Weld, *A History of the Royal Society* (London, 1848), pp. 201 ff.

77 As G. H. Schuller, another of Spinoza's friends, reported to him in Epistola LXIII, July 25, 1675, *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 276; Tschirnhaus' book, *Medicina mentis et corporis*, published at Leipzig in 1695, long after Spinoza's death, quotes Spinoza a great deal though never mentioning him by name, referring to him rather as "quidam" ("a certain person").

78 Epistola LXI, *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 272.

Ben. Spinozæ
TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-
POLITICUS

Continens

Dissertationes aliquot,

Quibus ostenditur libertatem Philosophandi non
tantum salva pietate, & Reipublicæ pace posse
concedi: sed eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicæ,
ipsaque pietate tolli non posse.

Johan: Epist: I. cap. IV. vers. XIII.

*Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet
in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis.*



HAMBURGI,
Apud Henricum Kunrath. ANNO 1673. 2 - 15 *

Figure 3. Title Variant of the Third Edition (T₃T).

One more title variant (Fig. 3) of the third edition of the *Tractatus* exists (T₃T). Containing both the *Tractatus* and the *Philosophia S. Scripturæ interpres*, the text pages conform entirely to the other issues of the third edition. However, the two fictitious title pages of T₃ (T₃E has only one) were replaced by two new title pages, one reproducing, with small typographical changes, the title page of T₁ (or, for that matter, T₂), and the other the title page of the original edition of Meyer's book published in 1666, changing the date to 1673. Since the original title pages were in quarto, their reproductions for T₃T, an octavo edition, are reduced in size. The title vignette on the title page for the *Tractatus* is new; that on the title page for the *Philosophia* is identical with the one of the first edition of 1666, proving once more that T₃ was produced by Rieuwertsz and his printer. The new title pages are cancels, inserted after the spurious titles were removed. T₃E, openly disclosing its contents, pretended to be a revised edition ("Ab authore longè emendatior");⁸⁵ T₃T, however, presents itself without qualifications as a 1673 octavo edition of the two books published in 1670 and 1666, respectively.

To the best of my knowledge there is no previous record of a complete copy of T₃T by any of the Spinoza bibliographers, old or more recent. I know of only two copies, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the other in my collection. Böhmer owned the second part of T₃T containing Meyer's *Philosophia*.⁸⁶ I can merely offer conjectures as to the reason for T₃T. Perhaps its title pages were printed in 1673 at the time the spurious title pages were, as export copies which needed no disguise. Or possibly they were produced in Holland, after the discovery of the deception, for use in copies to be sent to other countries of the continent.⁸⁷

The Fourth and Fifth Editions (T₄ and T₅)

The fourth edition of the *Tractatus* (T₄; Land's edition C and Gebhardt's Druck III), a quarto, spells the publisher's name "Künrath," contains the list of errata and follows T₂ in correcting some of them. It can be easily recognized by the misprint, 830, in the numbering of page 130. Using T₂ as its model it added further mistakes in the text.

The fifth edition (T₅; Land's edition D and Gebhardt's Druck IV) is the last

(1638–1710); the copy of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, by Robert Broughton, also of Oxford. Van der Linde, looking for a copy, found one in the University Library of Göttingen, a city in Hanover which from 1714 until 1837 was under British sovereignty!

⁸⁵ Gebhardt, who collated the editions, found this claim baseless: "The octavo edition provides no improvements that could not be attributed to a proofreader"; *Opera*, Vol. 3, p. 367.

⁸⁶ "Spinozana," p. 151.

⁸⁷ My copy was owned in 1851 by one J. H. Kurtz in Dorpat, Estonia.

of the known quarto editions imitating T.₁. It has the spelling "Künrath" as in T.₄; but the list of errata is omitted and two more of the original typographical errors are corrected; page 192 is misnumbered as 92; and whereas all the previous quarto editions show the same vignette at the end of the "Praefatio," T.₅ has a new and different one, a flower basket. Its proofreader, more conversant with Latin than his predecessors, corrected many typographical errors that had crept into the earlier quartos.⁸⁸

Land dated T.₄ and T.₅ after 1677. His evidence was the small vignette at the end of the *Praefatio*. In T.₄ the same vignette was used as in T.₁ and T.₂. It was also used in Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* of 1677 at the end of the *Tractatus politicus* (p. 354). Land's sharp eye noticed signs of wear in the vignette of T.₄ and concluded that, because in the *Opera* the vignette is intact, use of the vignette for T.₄ occurred after the printing of the *Opera posthuma*, i.e. after 1677. Then, having become unusable, the old vignette was discarded and replaced in T.₅.⁸⁹

Other Quarto Editions and Variants

There may have been even more quarto editions than those discussed above. Böhmer reported that he found in the catalogue of the Hamburg Library a quarto edition of the *Tractatus* published in Utrecht, Holland, in 1675.⁹⁰ Upon inquiry, the Staats und Universitäts-Bibliothek Hamburg informed me that all their philosophical books were destroyed in World War II and those of the catalogues which still exist do not list this edition.⁹¹

Stanislaus von Dunin Borkowski referred, in 1936, to a paper read in 1932 at the Spinoza Congress at The Hague in which Adolfo Ravà of Padua "somewhat shattered Land's findings by reporting a slightly different copy of a *Tractatus* in quarto found in Italy."⁹² The printed version of Ravà's paper⁹³ does not contain any such reference. But some years earlier Ravà had reported that the Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua owned a copy of the *Tractatus* made up partly of sheets of T.₂ and partly of sheets of T.₄ (T.₂/4).⁹⁴ My collection contains a copy which is composed of sheets of T.₄ and T.₅ (T.₄/5). The existence of such mixed copies does not invalidate Land's findings in the least. It again

proves that all these variants come from the same publisher. It also indicates that the publisher kept, at some time at least, a continuous stock of sheets of the book and had new sheets printed while the previous issue was not entirely used up.

For more than seven years Rieuwertsz had deceived the censors, evaded the ban and provided a probably never-interrupted supply of copies of the *Tractatus* to buyers in many countries.⁹⁵ No owner of one of the quarto editions bearing the year 1670 had to fear prosecution so long as he did not sell it. However around 1678 the loopholes in the ordinances were closed and penalties became severe. The proposals made by the authorities to curb the distribution of the *Opera posthuma*, published in 1677 after Spinoza's death, provided heavy penalties for owning the book.⁹⁶ The ordinance which was then issued in 1678 expressly forbade not only the printing but also the reprinting of the book.⁹⁷ The last of the printed ordinances issued in Utrecht set a high fine for selling the *Tractatus* or the *Opera*, made every second offense punishable by expulsion from the city and allowed the authorities to demand from every suspected printer or bookseller an oath that he had not hidden copies of the books.⁹⁸

When, in 1678, it had become too dangerous to manufacture and distribute new editions of the Latin text of the *Tractatus*, the diffusion of Spinoza's ideas did not stop. Gabriel de Saint-Glain, a Huguenot refugee in the military service of the States of Holland who had turned publicist and become an avowed follower of Spinoza, translated the *Tractatus* into French. Augmented by unpublished notes of the philosopher, the translation appeared in 1678 under spurious titles.⁹⁹ A small and compact volume in duodecimo, easy to hide and easy to read, it carried the thoughts of Spinoza to the *libertins* and *philosophes* of the coming century.¹⁰⁰

88 See the examples listed by Gebhardt, *Opera*, Vol. 3, p. 366.

89 "Over vier drukken," p. 158.

90 "Spinozana," p. 152.

91 Böhmer, *ibid.*, p. 162, speaking about the scarcity of Spinoza's original editions in Dutch libraries, mentioned that the University Library at Utrecht possessed, of old editions, only the *Tractatus* of 1675. However, this library wrote me that they have only one edition dated 1670.

92 Spinoza, Vol. 4, p. 85.

93 *Septimana Spinozana* (The Hague, 1933), pp. 28-34, 195-207.

94 "Le opera di Spinoza," in *Rivista di filosofia*, XVIII (1927), p. 296, n. 1.

95 In 1675 Jean Brun wrote that the *Tractatus* was sold in England, Germany, France, Switzerland, and even in Holland; *La véritable religion des Hollandais*, pp. 159 f.

96 Resolution of the University Curators and the Mayor of Leiden of June 27, 1678; Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 177 f.

97 Ordinance of the States of Holland and West-Friesland of June 25, 1678; *ibid.*, p. 180.

98 Ordinance of the Magistrate of Utrecht of October 28, 1678; *ibid.*, p. 188. Even these strong measures did not entirely stop the trade in the proscribed books. Some copies of the *Opera posthuma* contain an engraved portrait of the philosopher; Rieuwertsz the younger told Dr. Hallmann that this engraving was made three to four years after his death (Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 232) from which it appears that those copies were sold no earlier than 1680; see Ernst Altkirch, *Spinoza im Porträt* (Jena, 1913), p. 63. And as late as 1704 Rieuwertsz had copies of the *Opera* and the *Tractatus*; see above p. 10.

99 See above note 58.

100 Paul Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française avant la révolution*, Vol. I (Paris, 1954), p. 26.

*Chronology of the Edition and Variants
of the Tractatus Theologica-Politicus*

	Bamberger	Land	Gebhardt	
	T ₁ 1669/70	A 1670	I 1669/70	T ₁
	T ₂ 1672			T ₂
	T _{2a} 1672	B Between 1674 and 1677	II Between 1674 and 1677	T _{2a}
	T ₃ V T ₃ H T ₃ S T ₃ S/H/V T ₃ T	Second half of 1673	After July, 1674	T ₃ V T ₃ H T ₃ S T ₃ S/H/V T ₃ T
	T ₃ E	Second half of 1674	First half of 1674	T ₃ E
	T ₃ E/H	Second half of 1674		T ₃ E/H
	T ₄ After 1677	C After 1677	III After 1677	T ₄
	T _{2/4} After 1677			T _{2/4}
	T ₄ After 1677	D After 1677	IV After 1677	T ₄
	T _{4/5} After 1677			T _{4/5}

*Spinoza & Anti-Spinoza
Literature*

- 1 [de la Court, Pieter]. Lucii Antistii Constantis De jure ecclesiasticorum, liber singularis. Quo docetur: quodcunque divini humanique iuris ecclesiasticis tribuitur, vel ipsi sibi tribuunt, hoc, aut falsò impièque illis tribui, aut non aliundè, quam à suis, hoc est, ejus reipublicae sivè civitatis prodiis, in quà sunt constituti, accepisse. Alethopoli: Apud Cajum Valerium Pennatum, 1665. [8] l., 162 p., [3] l. 15 ½ cm.

This pseudonymous book has for its subject a theme which five years later forcefully reappeared in Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. No wonder when writers were looking for its author, Spinoza was a natural choice. Bayle in his *Dictionaire* (117), Jacob Friedrich Reimmann in his *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historie der Theologie*, 1717, p. 642 (236); Johann Vogt in his *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum*, 1753, p. 214 (460), and numerous others regarded Spinoza as the author although Colerus in his biography (157) reported that the philosopher himself denied the assumption. Yet, as late as 1842, Carl Riedel included the book in his collection of the main philosophical works of Descartes and Spinoza.

Lodewijk Meyer, the author of *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (see my notes, 1666) and editor of Spinoza's first book (3) and Lambert van Velthuysen (42) were also named as authors of the book. Most probably, however, it is the work of Pierre de la Court, also known by the Dutch names van den Hove or van den Hooft. De la Court (1618–1685), a resident of Leiden, was a supporter of Jan de Witt, the leader of Holland's republican party, and the author of many political writings defending freedom of thought against the orthodox clergy. This "Spinozistic" theme is also propounded in *De jure ecclesiasticorum*. Only the civil authorities, de la Court states, should exercise power and administer the law; the church claims for its ministers similar rights and privileges, but the Scriptures on which they rely for these claims do not support them and neither does natural law.

The book played some role in the English Spinoza literature; (see my notes on William Caroll, *Spinoza reviv'd*, 1709) (174).

- 2 [de la Court, Pieter]. Lucii Antistii Constantis De jure ecclesiasticorum, liber singularis. Quo docetur: quodcunque divini humanique iuris ecclesiasticis tribuitur, vel ipsi sibi tribuunt, hoc, aut falsò impièque illis tribui, aut non aliundè, quam a suis, hoc est, ejus reipublicae sivè civitatis prodiis, in quà sunt constituti, accepisse. Alethopoli: Apud Cajum Valerium Pennatum, 1665. [8] l., 162 p., [2] l. 15 ½ cm.

A new issue of no. 1, using different type and different vignettes; without the two errata pages since the printer corrected the typographical errors.

1666

- 3 [Meyer, Lodewijk]. *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres; exercitatio paradoxa, in qua, veram philosophiam infallibilem S. Literas interpretandi normam esse, apodicticè demonstratur, & discrepantes ab hac sententiae expenduntur, ac refelluntur*. Eleutheropoli: [Amsterdam, Jan Rieuwerts], 1665. [6] l., 105 p., [5] l. 20 cm.

Lodewijk Meyer (1629–1681), a physician in Amsterdam, was a close friend of Spinoza and his contemporaries, and later writers often attributed the authorship of *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* to Spinoza. The book, in general, reflects the philosophical and theological discussions of Spinoza's circle. Jan Rieuwerts, Spinoza's publisher and friend, reprinted it in one volume together with the third — the octavo — edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 1673 and 1674 (680–682). Together with Spinoza's books it was banned by the authorities (36, 259, 305).

Meyer, while maintaining that the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament are the unmistakable word of God, claims that they need an interpreter to determine the truth in those many places where the biblical text is dark and ambiguous. The tool for such interpretation is reason. Any interpretation of the Bible which contradicts a rational truth is false. What is true in philosophy is true in theology, both originate in God and thus God becomes the interpreter of His own words.

It is not merely the similarity of ideas which links Meyer's book to Spinoza. In the last paragraph of the book Meyer refers to Spinoza's *Korte Verhandeling* by its Latin title, *Tractatus de Deo, anima rationali et summa hominis felicitate* and speaks hopefully of its future publication.

See also notes on the edition of 1776 (545).

1668

- 4 [Koerbagh, Adriaen]. Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet geplant door Vreederyk Waarmond, onderzoeker der waarheyd, tot nut en dienst van al die geen die der nut en dienst uyt trekken wil. Of een vertaaling en uytlegging van al de Hebreesche, Grieksche, Latynse, Franse, en andere vreemde bastaart-woorden en wijsen van spreken, die ('t welk te beklagen is) soo inde Godsgeleertheyd, regtsgeleertheyd, geneeskunst, als in andere konsten en weetenschappen, en ook in het dagelijks gebruyk van spreken, inde Nederduytse taal gebruykt worden. Leiden: Gedrukt . . . voor Goedaart onderwijs [Amsterdam: Hermann Aeltsz], 1668. [8] l., 672 p. 14 ½ cm.

The *Bloemhof* is one of the most important early Spinozana. Its author, Adriaen Koerbagh (1632/3–1669), a physician and jurist, was one of Spinoza's disciples,

as was his brother Johannes, a theologian. The *Bloemhof* (Flowergarden) is a dictionary of loan words and terms in the Dutch language. Koerbagh wrote his definitions and explanations so that they expounded a rationalistic critique of religious belief and dogma. His philosophy stems from a radically atheistic interpretation of Spinoza's metaphysics. But, quite different from Spinoza, he expressed his beliefs in a violently belligerent manner.

Koerbagh and his brother ran into difficulties with the church authorities in 1666 and 1667, when they were accused of having uttered heretic opinions on God, Christ and the Bible. Their difficulties came to a climax when Adriaen published the *Bloemhof* and began to publish a third book. Adriaen fled but was betrayed and turned over to the magistrate of Amsterdam. At his trial he declared that, although he had been friendly with Spinoza and other freethinkers, he had never discussed the *Bloemhof* with them. He was condemned to ten years imprisonment, but torture by his jailers led to his death in October 1669.

The article "Bibel" in the *Bloemhof* mentions "some of the most outstanding theologians" as sources of the theory that Ezra was the compiler of the Bible; no doubt this is a reference to Spinoza and perhaps also to van den Enden in whose house Koerbagh met Spinoza.

See also no. 5.

- 5 Koerbagh, Adriaen. Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet geplant door Vreederyk Waarmond, onderzoeker der waarheyd, tot nut en dienst van al die geen die der nut en dienst uyt trekken wil. Of een vertaaling en uytlegging van al de Hebreesche, Grieksche, Latynse, Franse, en andere vreemde bastaart-woorden en wijsen van spreken, die ('t welk te beklagen is) soo inde Godsgeleertheyd, regtsgeleertheyd, geneeskunst, als in andere konsten en weetenschappen, en ook in het dagelijks gebruyk van spreken, inde Nederduytse taal gebruykt worden, gedaen door Mr. Adr. Koerbagh, regtsgeel. en geneesmr. Amsterdam: Gedrukt voor den Schrijver, 1668. [8] l., 672 p. 14 cm.

Same work as no. 4, having however a new title page which gives the true name of the author and bears the imprint "Printed for the author."

Meinsma, *Spinoza und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1909, p. 370, says that a few copies carry the false imprint "Gedrukt te Leyden etc.," while most copies have the correct "'t Amsterdam, Gedrukt voor den Schrijver" with the name of the author. This, however, is not so. My copy, in which the title page is a pasted-on carton, proves that the anonymous edition was the original one.

- 6 Wolzogen, Ludwig. *Orthodoxa fides sive adversus Johannem de Labadie Censura censurae Medioburgensis in libellum De interprete Scripturarum. Ipse libellus secunda editione praemissus est*. Utrecht: Johannes Ribbius, 1668. [26] l., 112 p., [2] l., 326 p., [2] l. 15 ½ cm.

Ludwig Wolzogen (1632–1690), a Reformed theologian who served as preacher at the French church of Middelburg, Holland and professor at the University of Utrecht, published in 1668 *De Scripturarum interprete adversus exercitatore paradoxum*, a refutation of Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres; exercitatio paradoxa*, 1666 (3). Among the numerous writers who attacked Wolzogen's book for containing dangerous views was Jean de Labadie, the controversial Franco-Dutch divine, who denounced it as a scandalous Socinian blasphemy. Wolzogen's answer contains the second edition of his reply to Meyer's book (pp. 1–112) and, immediately following it, an exchange of letters stating that Lambert van Velthuysen is not its author. Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* appeared in 1670 and only then, when the similarities between it and Meyer's anonymous book were noted, was Spinoza mentioned as the author of *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*.

1671

- 7 **Burmman**, Franz. Synopsis theologiae, & speciatim oeconomiae foederum Dei, ab initio saeculorum usque ad consummationem eorum. . . . Utrecht: Cornelius Jacobus Noenardus, 1671. 2 vols. [18] l., 771, [1] p.; [6] l., 690 p., [2] l. 20 cm.

This work by Franz Burmann (1625–1679), Dutch professor in Utrecht, was highly esteemed by the theologians of the Reformed church. However, like hundreds of other dogmatic books of its time, it doubtless would after a while have attracted little attention had it not been for the notoriety it gained when, fifteen years after its publication, Philip van Limborch discovered that a number of Burmann's statements were verbatim or almost verbatim quotes from Spinoza's first book.

That accusation was made in Limborch's *Theologia christiana*, 1686 (64) and it led to a long-lasting controversy (124, 132, 224). Limborch showed that Burmann had quoted from *Cogitata metaphysica* (part 2, chapter 9), the appendix to Spinoza's *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I, & II*, 1663 (675). In his *Defensio* of 1699 (124), he broadened his proof by adding part 2, chapter 3 as a further source of Burmann.

Spinoza's first book is his least quoted one. His contemporaries and the early polemicists were not interested in a book which, being predominantly a commentary on Descartes, offered nothing that was stunning or scandalous. And this may be the reason why the pious Burmann had no hesitation in borrowing from it.

- 8 **Kerckring**, Theodor. Commentarius in Currum triumphalem antimonii Basilii Valentini, a se latinitate donatum. Amsterdam: Andreas Frisius, 1671. Frontispiece, [11] l., 342 p., [9] l., plates. 13 ½ cm.

Theodor Kerckring (1639–1693) was a friend of Spinoza. Both Spinoza and Kerckring had been students of Franciscus van den Enden, and Kerckring married van den Enden's daughter, the learned Clara Maria van den Enden, who according to Colerus also had been wooed by Spinoza.

This, an annotated translation by Kerckring of a chemical book by Basil Valentine, one of many written by Kerckring, who was a medical and science writer of renown, was published in 1671, the year of his marriage, and sent by him to Spinoza in whose library it was found (not my copy, unfortunately!).

I venture to say that the dedication of Kerckring's book to the true philosophers, those most venerable men to whom a saintly life and science mean more than the world and its possessions, refers to the van den Enden-Spinoza circle.

1672

- 9 **Duerr**, Johannes Conrad and Jacob **Thomasius**. Actus panegyricus, anno MDCLXXI. mense Junio, & mitrae magistralis, & laureae poeticae . . . Habes hic, lector benevole . . . Orationem de praepostera et impia libertate philosophandi . . . oppositum Tractatui theologico-politico scriptoris lucifugae haud ita pridem vulgato. Accessit ejusdem argumenti Programma Lipsiense M. Jacobi Thomasii. . . . Jena: Christoph. Enoch. Buchta, 1672. [24] l. 18 ½ cm.

Johannes Conrad Duerr (1625–1677) was professor of moral philosophy and theology in Altdorf, Switzerland; Jacob Thomasius (1622–1684), a teacher and author of philosophical writings in Leipzig. Duerr's oration, held in June, 1671, and Thomasius' "program," combined in this academic publication, of which no other copy is known to me, represent the first printed refutations of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. This booklet erroneously gives the date of Thomasius' "program" as May 8, 1671. The collection of his dissertations, *Dissertationes LXIII*, Halle and Magdeburg, 1693, (95) p. 571, contains the correct date, May 8, 1670, which is also verified by a letter from Leibniz to Thomasius, September 1670 (Ludwig Stein, *Leibniz und Spinoza*, Berlin, 1890, p. 32).

The dedication to Duerr by Thomasius reveals the name of the anonymous author of the *Tractatus*, "libellum plane pestilens."

- 10 **Appendix** van't Catalogus van de boecken van Mr. Jan de Wit, bestaende in een partje curieuse en secrete manuscripten. Welcke verkocht sullen werden op de Zael van's Gravenhage, Maendag den 5 Septemb. 1672. en de volgende dagen. The Hague: By de drukkers van de Historie van Wiequevoort, (1672). [4] l. 18 cm.

Johan de Witt (1625–1672), Grand Pensionary of Holland, was the leader of Holland's republican party and an opponent of the house of Orange which was supported by the masses and the church. He opposed the preachers who

sought to gain influence over affairs of the state and sponsored laws to restrict them. Spinoza was close to de Witt and to the circle of writers, such as Pieter de la Court and Ludwig Meyer, who provided the literary and philosophical support for de Witt's politics (1, 3). In fact, many political ideas in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* were conditioned by Spinoza's desire to help de Witt in his fight. De Witt assisted Spinoza in various ways; he paid him a pension and protected him after the publication of the *Tractatus*.

As the result of the invasion of the Netherlands by the French, after tumultuous demonstrations against him, de Witt resigned in August, 1672 his post as Grand Pensionary. His brother, Cornelius, had been arrested shortly before on a charge of treason. When Johan visited him in the prison at The Hague, a mob stormed the prison and tore the two brothers to pieces.

After their death numerous pamphlets appeared attacking the brothers in vile terms. Among them are some *catalogues imaginaires*, lists of mostly non-existent books alluding to the misdeeds and crimes of Johan de Witt. The first of them is *Catalogus van boecken inde bybliotheque van Mr. Jan de Wit, door zijn discipel den Pensionaris Vivien*. The *Appendix* adds thirty-eight new titles, among them (no. 33) *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, "by the apostate Jew, forged with the devil in hell and published with the knowledge of Mr. Jan and his accomplices."

See also nos. 11 and 13.

- 11 **Appendix** van't Catalogus van de boecken van Mr. Jan de Wit, bestaende in een partje curieuse en secrete manuscripten. Welcke verkocht sullen werden op de Zael van's Gravenhage, Maendag den 5 Septemb. 1672. en de volgende dagen. The Hague: By de drukkers van de Historie van Wiequevoort, (1672). [4] l. 18 cm.

A new printing of no. 10, using different type and a different vignette.

- 12 **[Oudaan, Joachim]**. Aanmerkingen over het Verhaal van het eerste begin en opkomen der Rynsburgers . . . Den tweeden druk, vermeerderd, met en byvoegsel. Rotterdam: Isaak Naeranus, 1672. 55 p. 23 cm.

Joachim Oudaan (1628–1692), the Dutch poet, was a leader of the Rijnsburgers (the Collegiants) among whom Spinoza lived for a while. The *Aanmerkingen* are occasioned by the *Verhaal*, the history of the beginnings of the sect by Paschier de Wyne.

- 13 **Sleutel**, ontsluitende de boecke-kas van de Witte bibliotheek, met syn Appendix. Waer in de duystere namen der boecken klaerlijck werden verthoont en bekent gemaect. Door J.B. Bibliothecarius. The Hague: "by Nil volentibus arduum," 1672. [8] l. 18 cm.

This "key" to the *Catalogus* of Johan de Witt's library and the *Appendix* to it (11) elaborates on the titles listed in both. The *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is described as "by the apostate Jew, brought forth out of hell, wherein in an unheard of manner it is proved that God's word must be interpreted and understood by philosophy, all of which has been publicly printed with the knowledge of Mr. Jan."

1673

- 13a **Batelier**, Jacob Johannes. *Vindiciae miraculorum . . . adversus profanum auctorem Tractatus theologico-politici*. Amsterdam: Johannes Jansson, 1673. 103 p. 13 cm.

This little book is written by Jacobus Johannes Batelier, preacher of the Remonstrants at The Hague. He had been asked by a "brother in Christ" to examine the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. To this purpose he reprints (pp. 9–34) Spinoza's chapter six in its entirety, omitting only the Hebrew quotes. He explains (or excuses?) this copious quotation by pointing out that the reader interested in a thorough examination thus need not get a copy of Spinoza's book at a rather high price! Batelier then proceeds to refute Spinoza's arguments and prove the truth of the biblical miracles.

Batelier's attack on the "horrendous blasphemy" of Spinoza is dated January 23, 1672. My copy's imprint shows the year 1673. Van der Linde, who did not see a copy and obviously neither did other old sources, indicates 1674 as the year of publication. The British Museum copy also is of 1674. Nowhere else have I found a copy bearing the year 1673.

- 14 **[Stoupe, Jean Baptiste]**. *La religion des Hollandois, représentée en plusieurs lettres écrites par un officier de l'armée du Roy, à un pasteur & professeur en theologie de Berne*. Paris: François Clousier l'ainé and Pierre Auboin, 1673. [4] l., 204 p. 13 ½ cm.

This is the original edition of the first French book to discuss Spinoza. The author is Jean Baptiste Stoupe (1624–1692), a preacher of the French Reformed Church in London, after Cromwell's death a Lieutenant-Colonel and General of a Swiss regiment in French service. "A man of intrigue, but of no virtue" (Bishop Burnet), he served as a spy for Cromwell and later as an agent for Louis XIV. In the latter capacity he befriended Spinoza with whom he sympathized, but at the same time he reproached the Reformed ministers for not fighting Spinoza.

Under the mask of an orthodox Calvinist, Stoupe attacks the Dutch for not having any true religion, thus justifying his right to fight against them, his co-religionists, as the mercenary of a Catholic king. Among the leading infidels

tolerated by the Dutch church authorities and religionists, says Stouppe, is Spinoza who has many followers (pp.91–95, 152–153). Stouppe reveals a relatively good knowledge of Spinoza, his theories and his followers. He gained that knowledge from personal contact with the philosopher, for Stouppe was the man who invited him to come to Utrecht to visit Condé, commander of the French, and perhaps even invited the philosopher to the court of Louis XIV. This mysterious trip has been doubted by some, widely discussed by others.

See also nos.15, 16, 17, 18 and 22.

- 15 [Stouppe, Jean Baptiste]. *La religion des Hollandois, représentée en plusieurs lettres écrites par un officier de l'armée du Roy, à un pasteur & professeur en theologie de Berne*. Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1673. 142 p. 14 cm.

Another edition of no.14, Baer's Freudenthal catalogue of Spinozana, no.103, discusses the differences between the two editions. Weller, *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte* and August Moeltzner, "Pierre du Marteau Drucke," in *Beitraege zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen Paul Schwencke gewidmet*, Berlin, 1913, deal with the complicated bibliographical problems. This edition "à la Sphère" is thought to have been printed in Utrecht by G. van Zyll. Willems (no.1878), too, places its origin in Holland.

- 16 [Stouppe, Jean Baptiste]. *De gods-dienst der Hollanders, vertoont in verscheide Brieven, geschreven door een amptenaar in's Konings leger, aen een leeraar ende professor in de God-geleertheid der stad Berne*. Uit de fransche-taal in het nederlandsch over-gezet. Amsterdam: Cyprianus vander Gracht, 1673. 48 p. 19 cm.

Dutch translation of *La religion des Hollandois*, 1673 (14).

Meyer, Ludwig. *Philosophia S.Scripturae interpres*, 1673. See Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 1673 and 1674 (698–700).

1674

- 17 *Annehmlicher Discurs, von der Hollaender Religion, samt andern obschwebenden Welt-Haendeln, ueber sechs Epistelen, so vor etliche Monathen aus Utrecht an einen Professorem Theologiae zu Bern in der Schweiz, geschrieben, und in der Welt verstreut worden*. N.p., 1674. 64 p. 19 cm.

The anonymous German author of this *Discurs*, disturbed by the sophistries and inaccuracies of Jean Baptiste Stouppe's *La religion des Hollandois*, 1673 (15), sets out to correct its mistakes and misconceptions, particularly in reference to Switzerland. In this context, he also rejects (p.59) Stouppe's view that

the Dutch tolerated Spinoza's teachings. The General States, he points out, had prohibited his book and various authors would have published refutations if the current Dutch-French war had not intervened.

- 18 *Grondig bericht van de godsdienst der Hollanders, strekkende tot wederlegging van zeker ongenoemt schryver, die in zes brieven, over enige maanden uit Utrecht aan een professor der theologie te Bern in Switserland geschreven, en door de druk gemeen gemaakt, de Hollanders, wegens hun godsdienst, gelijk hy die vertoont, tracht gehaat te maken*. . . Nieuwelyks in de Hoogduitsche taal beschreven, en daar uit vertadlt. Amsterdam: 1674. [1] l., 38 p. 19 ½ cm.

Dutch translation of *Annehmlicher Discurs, von der Hollander Religion*, 1674 (17).

- 19 Musaeus, Johannes. *Ableinung der ausgesprengten abscheulichen Verleumdung, ob waere in der Fuerstl. Saechsichen Residentz und gesambten Universitaet Jena eine neue Secte der so genannten Gewissener entstanden, und derselben eine nicht geringe Anzahl von Studiosis und Buergern beygethan: Nebenst umbstaendlichen Bericht von etlichen am 5. und 6. Sept. daselbst ausgestreueten Gotteslaesterlichen und aufruehrischen Charteqven, von welchen solche Calumnia ihren Ursprung genommen, wie auch von der vermeinten Gewissener Secte*. Jena: Johann Bielcken, 1674. Port., [1] l., 62 p. 18 cm.

Johannes Musaeus (1613–1681), professor at the University of Jena and author of a critical examination of Spinoza's *Tractatus (Tractatus theologico-politicus ad veritatis lumen examinatus, 1674)*, defends the city of Jena and its university against the calumny that they have become infested with followers of a new Spinozistic sect, the *Conscientarii* or *Gewissener*. In 1674, Matthias Knutzen, whom Hettner (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, 4th ed., 1893, p. 42) calls the first German Spinozist, appeared in Jena and tried to establish his sect which asserted that conscience, *Gewissen*, is the sole norm of religion. Knutzen distributed his pamphlets secretly, and claimed that 700 students and citizens had joined his sect.

A reprint of the pamphlets, all or part of them, appeared in La Croze, *Entretiens*, 1711 and 1770 (526); Jenkin Philipps, *Historia atheismi*, 1713 (209); Johann Christiann Edelmann, *Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesichte*, vol.2, 1740 (376); Georg Thomas Wagner, *Johann Christian Edelmanns verblendete Anblicke*, vol.2, 1747 (420); and *Encyclopédie méthodique*, 1791 (598).

1675

- 20 Baxter, Richard. *Catholic theologie: plain, pure, peacable: for pacification of the dogmatical world-warriours*. . . In three books. . . London: Nevill Simmons, 1675. [22] l., 136 p., [2] l., 124 p., [2] l., 118 p., [5] l., 299 p. 31 cm.

Richard Baxter (1615–1691), the great English Puritan divine, rejects Spinoza's "doctrine of predetermining necessitation" (part I, pp. 108, 114, 118).

- 21 **Bredenburg**, Johannes. *Enervatio Tractatus theologico-politici; una cum demonstratione, geometrico ordine disposita, naturam non esse deum: cuius effecti contrario praedictus tractatus unice innititur*. Rotterdam: Isaak Naeranus, 1675. [3] l., 100 p. 21 cm.

Jan (Johannes) Bredenburg (d. 1691), by profession a weaver and businessman in Rotterdam, was a member of the Collegiants, the group with which Spinoza sympathized.

Bredenburg's book refutes Spinoza's teachings; nevertheless, his contemporaries accused him of spreading Spinozism through his book. He reveals a sharper understanding of Spinoza's philosophy than most of his contemporaries.

- 22 **Brun**, Jean. *La véritable religion des Hollandais. Avec une apologie pour la religion des Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies. Contre le libelle diffamatoire de Stoupe, qui a pour titre La religion des Hollandais*. . . . Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgank, 1675. [20] l., 392, 139, [5 incorrectly paged] p. 13 cm.

Jean Brun (Johannes Braun) (1631–1708), minister at Nimwegen, Holland and later professor of theology at Groningen, defends the religion of the Dutch which Stoupe had attacked in his work *La religion des Hollandais*, 1673 (14). Why single out the Dutch, Brun asks, since all the other countries where Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was sold should have shown the same eagerness in refuting or prohibiting it (pp. 158–164, 289–292).

- 23 **Geulincx**, Arnold. *Ἐν ὧ θι σεαυτὸν*. . . *Ethica*. *Post tristia authoris fata omnibus suis partibus in lucem edita, & tam seculi huius, quam atheorum quorundam philosophorum impietati, scelistisque moribus, quanquam specioso ut plurimum, virtutis praetextu larvatis, opposita per Philarethum*. Leiden: Adrianus Severinus, 1675. [23] l., 280 p., [3] l., 195, [1] p. 12 ½ cm.

Contemporaries of Arnold Geulincx (1625–1669), the philosopher of "occasionalism" in Leiden, pointed out similarities between his philosophy and Spinoza's. His enemies called him a Spinozist, while his friends defended him against the accusation; see the works of Andala, 1711 and 1712 (186, 194); Regius, 1714 (216); and Outhof, 1722 (261). In this connection it is exceedingly interesting that as early as 1675 the unknown author of the laudatory introductory poem to the *Ethica* compares Geulincx and Spinoza: "Frustra hic Spinosae quaeras molimina mentis" (p. xxiv). Spinoza's *Ethica* had not yet appeared, though his views were known to the Dutch scholars of Geulincx's circle.

The edition of the *Ethica* of 1675, the second, is the first complete one; the editor, Philarethus, is Cornelius Bontekoe (74).

1676

- 24 **Kuyper** [Cuperus], Frans. *Arcana atheismi revelata, philosophice & paradoxe refutata, examine Tractatus theologico-politici*. . . . Rotterdam: Isaak Naeranus, 1676. [8] l., 304 p. 19 cm.

Frans Kuyper (b. 1629) knew Spinoza and his circle and was well acquainted with current atheistic manuscripts, on which he draws in his book. Though a member of the Collegiants, and a man of distinct Socinian leanings, he wrote vigorously against Spinoza. Nevertheless he and his book were denounced for harboring Spinozistic sympathies.

- 25 **Spizelius**, Theophilus. *Felix literatus ex infelicitum periculis et casibus, sive de vitiis literatorum commentationes historico-theosophicae, quibus infelicitum ex animo, h. e. vitiosorum literatorum calamitates et miseriae*. . . . ostenditur. . . . Augsburg: Theophilus Goebel, 1676. Frontispiece, [10] l. including port., 1184 p. 16 cm.

The rarity of the book led Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, 1899, p. 255 and others to give erroneous bibliographical data; corrections were made by Freudenthal, *Spinoza*, 1927, vol. 1, p. 340, and Dunin-Borkowski, *Spinoza nach 300 Jahren*, 1932, p. 125.

In this book, Theophilus Spizelius (Spizel) (1630–1691), a Lutheran theologian, presents the biographies of famous scholars and poets whose lives ended tragically, either by their own moral faults or by accidents. Spinoza is discussed on pp. 142–146; see also index p. 1119.

A continuation appeared in 1680 under the title *Infelix literatus* (41).

1677

- 26 **Maastricht**, Pieter van. *Novitatum Cartesianarum gangraena*. . . . *Seu Theologia Cartesiana*. . . . Amsterdam: Jansson, 1677. [14] l., 560 p., [8] l. 18 ½ cm.

Pieter van Maastricht (1630–1706), an anti-Cartesian and anti-Coccejan professor, first at the University of Frankfurt-on-Oder, then at Duisburg, offers a refutation of Spinoza's demand that philosophy should not be a servant to theology (a *novitas* considered Cartesian by van Maastricht, pp. 34–49). Strangely enough, on p. 35 Spinoza's first name is given as "Joh." Maastricht

discusses the theological implications of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* at many places, pp. 52, 60, 63, 70, 73, 83, 91, 97. A pun "Spinosam Spinosae," used later by many others, appears on p. 44.

Maastricht regards Spinoza as the author of Ludwig Mayer's *Philosophia Scripturae interpres* (p. 35) and argues strongly and repeatedly against the views of the *Interpretator*: pp. 74, 105–148, 158, 166, 178, 194, 272.

- 27 [Stillingfleet, Edward]. A letter to a deist, in answer to several objections against the truth and authority of the Scriptures. London: M. Pitt, 1677. [4] l., 135 p., [4] l. 17 ½ cm.

Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699), an English divine who was made dean of St. Paul's one year after publication of this book and later became Bishop of Worcester, was for many years of his writing career engaged in controversy with atheists, deists and Socinians (see my notes on Locke, *Reply to the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer*, 1699 (125) and Stillingfleet, *Origines sacrae*, 1709 (177)).

In the preface to his *Letter*, Stillingfleet states that Spinoza is "mightily in vogue among many" and expresses the hope that if, as rumor has it, an English translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* should appear, defenders of religion and morality will rise against it in England. In fact, the first complete English translation was published only in 1689 (690).

- 28 Sturm, Johann Christoph. De Cartesianis & Cartesianismo brevis dissertatio quam annuente summi numinis gratia sub praesidio M. Joh. Christophori Sturmii . . . publice defendet Georgius Sebastianus Kraus Norimbergensis. ad d. 31. Martii M.DC.LXXVII. Altdorf: Johannes Heinrich Schoennerstaedt, (1677). [1] l., 30 p. 19 cm.

Johann Christoph Sturm (1635–1703), professor of physics at Altdorf, Switzerland, famous in his time as an eclectic philosopher tending toward physical mechanism, describes in this thesis his visit to Spinoza, "this exotic animal," and how the philosopher told him about his family, history and excommunication. He reproaches Spinoza for having in his library the Holy Scriptures, Koran and Talmud standing side by side.

An enlarged version of this dissertation appeared in Sturm's *Philosophia eclectica*, 1686 (66).

1678

- 29 [Beverland, Hadrian]. Peccatum originale . . . philologicè προβληματικῶς elucidatum a Themidis alumno. Eleutheropoli: Extra plateam obscuram, sine

privilegio auctoris, absque ubi & quando. [Amsterdam], (1678). [5] l., 146 p., [2] p. 15 cm.

Hadrian Beverland (1652/3–1712), a nephew of Isaac Vossius, became notorious as the author of many learned obscene books. His first, the above, appeared anonymously and without revealing the printer and the place of publication; the colophon, adding another witty line to the humorous imprint, says it was printed "in the Garden of the Hesperides with the type of Adam and Eve, the Children of Earth." When in the following year the second edition appeared (32) showing the author's name, the authorities of Leiden banned Beverland from the university and the city and imprisoned him. In prison Beverland had my copy of the book with him.

Bound with two other even rarer works by Beverland, this copy contains an arrogant Greek inscription in his hand ("I, Adrian Beverland, first of the martyrs . . . wrote this in the prison of Leiden, Nov. 26, 1679") and other autograph inscriptions, namely a self-praising Dutch stanza, a dedication to a friend, and a copy of a long laudatory Latin letter sent him by Nicolaus Heinsius, the famous Dutch philologist.

Beverland makes mention, full of disdain, of Spinoza, the *atheologos*, and of Adriaen Koerbagh and his *Bloemhof* (see 1668), yet the sincerity of his vilification may be doubted.

- 30 Cudworth, Ralph. The true intellectual system of the universe: The first part; wherein, all the reason and philosophy is confuted; and its impossibility demonstrated. London: Richard Royston, 1678. Frontispiece, [10] l., 899 p., [42] l. 30 cm.

The *True intellectual system* is the chief opus of Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), one of the Platonists of Cambridge. It contains (p. 707) a contemptuous paragraph on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, which Cudworth finds a groundless and inconsiderable work, and on Spinoza's treatise on the miracles, contained in the *Tractatus*.

Cudworth is not the first critic of Spinoza in English literature, as was stated by Pollock, *Spinoza*, 1899, p. 357 and Bohrmann, *Spinoza in England*, in his *Spinoza's Stellung zur Religion*, Giessen, 1914, p. 67. Baxter, *Catholick theologie*, 1675 (20), and Stillingfleet, *A letter to a Deist*, 1677 (27), precede Cudworth; see my notes on these books.

A Latin translation appeared in 1773 (533).

- 31 Parker, Samuel. Disputationes de Deo, et providentia divina. . . London: Jo. Martyn, 1678. [1] l., 40 p., [8] l., 572 p. 22 ½ cm.

Samuel Parker (1640–1688), archdeacon of Canterbury and later bishop of

Oxford, an anti-Cartesian, discusses Spinoza's concept of God as *causa immanens*, not *causa transiens*, without mentioning Spinoza by name (p.441).

1679

- 32 **Beverland**, Hadrian. De peccato originali. . . N. p.: Ex typographeio, 1679. [10] l., 157, [11] p.

Second edition of Beverland's *Peccatum originale*, first published in 1678 (29). The references to Spinoza and his circle are worded somewhat differently; added, among others, is a sentence on Spinoza having been a disciple of Franciscus (Beverland mistakenly says Johannes) van den Enden.

- 33 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. Demonstratio evangelica. Ad Serenissimum Delphinum. Paris: Stephanus Michallet, 1679. [2] l., 20, 725, [1] p. 36 ½ cm.

Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721) was originally a follower of Descartes, but subsequently his opponent. Tutor of the French dauphin, he wrote this monumental work for his pupil. This defense of the Christian religion was prompted by conversations with Manasseh ben Israel, the rabbi of Amsterdam. Refuting Spinoza is one of the main purposes of the book (see the numerous passages listed in the Index under "Auctor Tractatus theologico-politici refellitur"). Huet is among the first who tried to trace the historical roots of Spinoza's *Tractatus*.

- 34 **Le Grand**, Anton. Institutio philosophiae secundum Principia D. Renati Descartes. . . Nuremberg: Johannes Zieger, 1679. Frontispiece, [11] l., 1200 p., [35] l. 16 cm.

Antoine Le Grand (or Ligrant), born in the beginning of the century and still active in 1695, was a Franciscan who had been sent from the city of his birth, Douai, to England to preach the Catholic religion. He became one of the outstanding apologists of Descartes in England.

Dunin Borkowski, *Spinoza*, vol. 3, 1935, pp. 124 f. shows that Le Grand, "the great copyist," used almost verbatim a number of passages and arguments from Spinoza's *Cogitata* (675) in his *Institutio* (published first in 1672 and often reprinted).

- 35 **More**, Henry. Opera omnia, tum quae Latine, tum quae Anglice scripta sunt; nunc vero Latinitate donata. . . [vol. 1] London: J. Martyn and Walter Kettilby, 1679. [2] l., 24 p., [5] l., 772 p., [17] l. 35 ½ cm.

Henry More (1614–1687), philosopher of the Cambridge Platonist School, is a severe, often vicious critic of Spinoza. The first volume of his collected works contains two long anti-Spinozistic essays, the "Ad V. C. Epistola altera, quae brevem Tractatus theologicus-politici refutationem complectitur" (pp. 563 ff.) and "Demonstrationis duarum propositionum [concerning the substance], quae praecipuae apud Spinozium atheismi sunt columnae, brevis solidaque confutatio" (pp. 615 ff.). Added to these critiques of the *Tractatus* and the *Ethica* is an evaluation of Frans Kuyper's [Cuperus] *Arcana atheismi revelata*, a refutation of Spinoza which appeared in 1676 (24).

- 36 **Placaten** ende ordonantien, midsgaders publicatien, waerschouwingen, en extracten uyt de resolutien, van de ed: Vroedschap der Stad Utrecht. . . Utrecht: Willem van Paddenburgh, 1679. 19 ½ cm.

A collection of 114 original ordinances of the City of Utrecht and a few smaller towns, most of them issued or re-issued in 1679. It contains the *Renovatie ende publicatie tegens Sociniaensche en Gods-lasterlijke boecken* of October 24, 1678, by which the City of Utrecht prohibited among others, the printing and selling of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and *Opera posthuma*. Their owners were ordered to turn them over to the authorities. People wrongly suspected of having the books could clear themselves through a "purification oath."

See also my notes on *Kerkelyk placaat-boek*, 1722 (259) and *Groet placaat-boek*, 1729 (305).

1680

- 37 [**Beverland**, Hadrian]. Alardi Uchtmanni Vox, clamantis in deserto ad doctissimum juvenem Hadrianum Beverlandum jurisperitum. Middelburg: Theodorus del la Maire, [1680?]. 61, [2] p. 15 cm.

This book is a falsification. Hadrian Beverland (29) wrote it in Utrecht after having been banned from Leiden because of his obscene *Peccatum originale*. He used the name of Alardus Uchtmann, a respectable theological writer, without this man's permission or even knowledge, and uses his own name in the title as the person to whom the booklet was addressed. The book, an attack on the Dutch clergymen, the persecutors of free minds who were responsible for his banishment from Leiden, contains references to Frederik van Leenhof, the Spinozist (159), and Lambert van Velthuysen, Spinoza's friend (42), their circle and their enemies.

- 38 **Helvetius**, Johannes Friedrich. Philosophia theologica, contra Cartesii & Spinosae theologiam philosophicam; ofte de ontmenschte mensch, levendig

doodt, in de ontkerckte kerck, etc. Dat is: Een klaer bewijs, dat de hedensdaegsche geexerceerde nieuwigte theologiae principien Cartesii et Spinosae van te twyfen en lochenen, zijn geweest Adams eerst verloocheninge Godts, en oversulks twee heel oude principien moeten zijn, om dat deselve d'alderoutste paradys-professor Lucifer aen Adam, als doe noch zijnde een jonge discipel, gedoceert, en tot sijn eeuwigen val ook selve gepractiseert heeft, en heedensdaegs in schoolen en kerken by veelen geexerceert worden. Amsterdam: Gedrukt voor den auther; Joannes Janssonius, 1680. [1] l., 620 p. 16 cm.

Johannes Friedrich Helvetius (1629–1709), born in Koethen, Germany, came to Holland in 1649 where he became a physician. His book, filled with alchemic ideas, "proves" that the philosophies of Descartes and Spinoza are the work of the devil.

- 39 **Kortholt**, Christian. *De tribus impostoribus magnis liber*. . . Kiel: Joachim Reumann, 1680. [8] l., [312] p. (paging of last four leaves is incorrect) 15 cm.

This book by Christian Kortholt (1633–1694), professor of theology at the University of Kiel, Germany, became a favorite source for many subsequent authors who wrote against Spinoza. It was not so much the factual data that were copied over and over again (there are not too many in the book), but the malicious puns and metaphors with which Kortholt abused Spinoza.

Whereas originally and traditionally the term *tres impostores*, the three great impostors, refers to Moses, Jesus and Mohammed, Kortholt applies the defamation to Hobbes, Herbert of Cherbury and Spinoza (*De Benedicto Spinoso*, pp. 139–225).

A second edition appeared in 1701 (139).

- 40 **Simon**, Richard. *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*. . . Suivant la copie, imprimée à Paris. [Amsterdam: Elzevier], 1680. [15] l., 612 p. 19 ½ cm.

A counterfeit issue of the first edition (1678) of this controversial book by Richard Simon (1638–1712), French biblical scholar. The proof sheets of the first edition were destroyed at the behest of Simon's enemies in the Port Royalist and Benedictine camp, and the author was expelled from the Oratorian order.

Simon, possibly influenced by Spinoza, asserted that the original Bible text had been augmented by additions from several authors, but against Spinoza he maintained the authenticity of the Bible in spite of the later additions (see the *Préface*). Nevertheless he was accused of Spinozism; see my notes on Dupin, *Nova Bibliotheca*, 1692 (90) and Simon, *De l'inspiration*, 1687 (68). Simon's unorthodox attitude is reflected in his review of Cuperus' *Arcana atheismi revelata*, 1676 (24).

- 41 **Spizelius**, Theophilus. *Infelix literatus . . . sive De vita et moribus literatorum commonefactiones novae historico-theosophicae, quibus mysterium infelicitatis literariae, extremaque; vitiorum doctos homines infamantium pernicies expressius detegitur, praetermissa in opere anteriori exempla et documenta exhibentur, atque eruditus culpa sua aerumnosis . . . ostenditur*. Augsburg: Theophilus Goebel, 1680. [23], 27 p., [1] l., 1136 p., [19] l. 16 cm.

Van der Linde, 358 n.; Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, 1899, p. 255 and others give erroneous bibliographical data; correction by Freudenthal, *Spinoza*, 1927, vol. 1, p. 340 and Dunin-Borkowski, *Spinoza nach 300 Jahren*, 1932, p. 125.

The book, a continuation of Spizelius' *Felix literatus*, 1676 (25), exposes the vices of writers and contains a violent attack on Spinoza (pp. 361 ff.).

- 42 **Velthuysen**, Lambert van. *Opera omnia. Ante quidem separatim, tam Belgicè quam Latinè, nunc verò conjunctim Latinè edita. Quibus accessere duo tractatus novi, hactenus inediti: . . . Alter De cultu naturali, oppositus Tractatui theologico-politico & Operi posthumo Benedicti de Spinoza . . .* Rotterdam: Reiner Leers, 1680. 2 vols. [13] l., 1570 p. (paged continuously) 19 ½ cm.

Lambert van Velthuysen (1622–1685), physician, philosopher, and jurist at Utrecht, Holland, who made a name for himself as a Cartesian and a defender of free scholarly research, was too much a churchman to approve of Spinoza's writings which he studied earnestly. Before Velthuysen had met Spinoza via a mutual friend, he sent him a letter of serious criticism to which Spinoza replied sharply. After the two men met they became fond of one another, although Velthuysen did not relent in his philosophical and theological opposition to Spinoza. After Spinoza's death Velthuysen published the *Tractatus de cultu naturali, et origine moralitatis. Oppositus Tractatui theologico-politico, et Operi posthumo B.D.S.* in the second edition of his collected works (pp. 1363–1570). See also the *Praefatio ad lectorem* in vol. 1 about Velthuysen's relations with Spinoza.

The first volume, pp. 97–159, contains the *Dissertatio de usu rationis in rebus theologicis, et praesertim in interpretatione S. Scripturae* which was prompted by Ludwig Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, 1666 (3).

1681

- 43 **Boyle**, Roger. *Summa theologiae christianae*. Dublin: Typis Regiis, 1681. [2] l., 306 p., [1] l. 20 cm.

Matthias Earbery, in *Deism examin'd and confuted*, London, 1697, is, to my knowledge, the only early writer who knows of and refers to Boyle's anti-Spinozistic

efforts: "Bishop Boyl in his little Body of Divinity and almost all our moderns, who have wrote in vindication of the Scriptures, have taken notice of divers of its dangerous positions."

Roger Boyle (1617–1687), Catholic theologian and bishop of Clogher, born and educated in Ireland, discusses Spinoza's position on miracles ("Nescio cujus Authoris pus atque venenum"), pp. 15–19; his stand on Moses' authorship of the Bible, pp. 78 f.; his criticism of the "Chosen People" concept, pp. 88 ff.; the question of divine vs. human law, pp. 92 f.; Spinoza's treatment of prophecy, pp. 100–106; of faith, p. 114.

1682

- 44 **Simon, Richard.** A critical history of the Old Testament . . . With a supplement, being a defence of The critical history, in answer to Mr. Spanheim's treatise against it. Both translated into English by H.D. London: Jacob Tonson, 1682. [16] l., 207, 180, 182, 91 p. 21 ½ cm.

The first English translation of Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (40).

1683

- 45 **[Bayle, Pierre].** Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la comète qui parut au mois de Decembre 1680. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1683. [2] l., 811, [15] p. 15 cm.

The revised second edition of Bayle's *Pensées*, a book which marks the beginning of 18th century enlightenment, is the first edition of this work to mention Spinoza. Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), who later dealt with Spinoza *in extenso* (117, 120), tells in the *Pensées* about Spinoza's last hours (pp. 565 f.; also p. 541). Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française*, 1954, pp. 28–33 shows how the book is strongly influenced by Spinoza's thought, even where Bayle seems to write as an opponent of Spinoza.

See also my notes on Bayle's *Continuation des Pensées diverses*, 1705 (150).

- 46 **Borel, Adam.** Scripta . . . posthuma . . . Cosmopoli: Typis impressoris [London?], 1683. [2] l., 260 p. 15 ½ cm.

The last piece in this collection, *Lucerna super candelabro*, pp. 247–260, is not by Borel (Boreel), a Socinian (d. 1666) but is a Latin translation of Pieter Balling's *Het licht op den kandelaar*, a booklet published in 1662 of which only one copy is known (republished by Carl Gebhardt in *Chronicon Spinozanum*, vol. 4, 1926, pp. 187 ff.). Borel may be the translator.

Pieter Balling, a *Collegiant*, was a friend of Spinoza. His *Het licht op den kandelaar* "signifies the beginning of a Spinoza literature at a time when no book by the philosopher himself had been published" (Gebhardt).

- 47 **[Verwer, Adrian].** 't Mom-aensicht der atheistery, afgerukt door een verhandeling van den aengeboren stand der menschen, vervattende niet alleen een betoogh van de rechtsinnige stelling; maer ook voornamentlijk een grondige wederleging van de tegenstrijdige waen-gevoelens en in't bysonder van de geheele Sedekonst, van Benedictus de Spinoza. Door A.V. . . . Amsterdam: Wilhelm Goeree, 1683. [12] l., 90 p., [1] l. 21 cm.

Adrian Verwer, a Dutch linguist of fame, is among the first who tried a sort of systematic refutation of Spinoza's *Ethica*. Besides its polemic excursions (pp. 50–90), Verwer's work is important because of the biographical data on Spinoza which were probably obtained by the author through first-hand information. A poem by Joachim Oudaan (1628–1692), contained in Verwer's book, alludes to homosexual acts mentioned by Spinoza at a dinner in Utrecht. The poem is reprinted in Oudaan, *Poezy*, 1712 (200).

- 48 **Wittich, Christoph.** Theologia pacifica, in qua . . . usus philosophiae Cartesianae in diversis theologiae partibus demonstratur, & ad dissertationem . . . Samuel Maresii, De abusu philosophiae Cartesianae in rebus theologicis & fidei, modeste respondetur. Editio tertia. . . . Leiden: Cornelius Boutesteyn, 1683. [18] l., port., 180 p. 19 ½ cm.

Christoph Wittich (1625–1687), the spokesman of the Cartesians at the University of Leiden, best known for his posthumously published *Anti-Spinoza*, 1690 (83), denounces the abuses of Descartes' philosophy apparent in the philosophies of Ludwig Meyer and Spinoza (pp. 31 f., 35 f.; also, preface to *Theologia pacifica*).

1684

- 49 **[Abbadie, Jacques].** Traité de la verité de la religion chrétienne. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1684. 2 vols. [12] l., 517 p.; 418 p., [3] l. 19 ½ cm.

This is the first edition of this "masterwork of classical Christian apologetics" by Jacques Abbadie (1658–1727), a Reformed preacher who after his escape from France served in Berlin and Dublin. Its chapters on Spinoza, vol. 1, pp. 283–373, are the first attempt of a massive and systematic refutation of Spinoza's Biblecriticism by a Protestant theologian; see also the *Préface*.

New editions and translations (73, 96, 422) are evidence of the wide-spread influence of Abbadie's book.

- 50 [Cuffeler, Abraham Johannes]. Specimen artis ratiocinandi naturalis & artificialis ad pantosophiae principia manuducens. Hamburg: Henricus Kunraht [Utrecht or Amsterdam], 1684. 3 vols. [9] l., 258 p., [1] l.; [4] l., 229 p.; [6] l., 140 p., 12 plates. 15 ½ cm.

Abraham Johannes Cuffeler (1637–1694?), a high Dutch official, was among Spinoza's intimate friends. "Few friends and adversaries from earlier times have understood him so deeply and truly as Cuffeler" (Dunin-Borkowski, "Ein christlicher Spinozist" in *Nachlese zur aeltesten Geschichte des Spinozismus, Archiv fuer Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 24, pp. 71 ff.). His work appeared under the same fictitious imprint as Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and is one of the few 17th century books which took a stand in favor of Spinoza; see in particular vol. 1, pp. 103, 119–127, 222–230, 231–256. Cuffeler's original plan was to give a Spinozistic exposition of the entire field of science, but only these three books (logic, mathematics, physics) were completed.

- 51 Salden [Selden], Willem. Otia theologica, sive exercitationum subcisivarum, varii argumenti, libri quatuor. . . . Amsterdam: Henricus Boom, etc., 1684. Frontispiece, [21] l., 822 p., [29] l. 20 ½ cm.

In the second of his papers collected in this volume, Willem Salden (1627–1694), a learned Dutch theologian, writes about "the author of the Pentateuch" and, as is to be expected, a large part is devoted to the unmasking of the errors of Spinoza, "this rotten man" (pp. 18, 24–36). Salden sets his tone by copiously quoting from Spizelius' *Felix literatus*, 1676 (25), although one notices that he has carefully studied the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

- 52 [Jurieu, Pierre]. L'esprit de Mr. Arnauld. Tiré de sa conduite, & des écrits de luy & de ses disciples, particulièrement de l'Apologie pour les catholiques. . . . Deventer: Heritiers de Jean Colombius, 1684. 2 vols. 452 p., [7] l.; 478 p., [7] l. 15 cm.

Antoine Arnauld, the Jansenist philosopher of Port-Royal, a refugee in Brussels at that time, had raised in his book, *Apologie pour les catholiques*, 1682, the question whether it was not true that the Protestants were responsible for doubting the authority of the Bible because Spinoza, a Calvinist, although originally a Jew, had provided them with arguments. Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), French Protestant divine, pastor in Rotterdam, opponent of Arnauld, Nicole and Bossuet, answers in his *L'esprit de Mr. Arnauld*, pp. 155–159, that there were libertines in the Catholic church prior to Spinoza, and that no more than six of the present French unbelievers had ever heard of Spinoza.

- 53 Pufendorf, Samuel. De jure naturae et gentium libri octo. Editio secunda, auctor multo, et emendatior. Frankfurt-on-Main: Friedrich Knoch, 1684. [7] l., 1344 p., [8] l. 20 ½ cm.

Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694) was the first jurist to refute Spinoza's concept of natural law and the validity of the institutions stemming from it (pp. 159–163, 390 f.). Pufendorf had met Spinoza and called him a "frivolous bird," but he nevertheless felt that it was "worth the while to destroy him *funditus*." And this is what he aimed at in his classic work on natural and international law. Strangely enough, Ludwig Gumplowicz states in his authoritative *Geschichte der Staatstheorien*, 1905, that Pufendorf did not take notice of Spinoza, that in all probability he never read the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and that he would not have understood him anyway.

See also 71, 192, 201, and 235.

1685

- 54 Hornius, Georg and Balthasar Bekker. Kerkelycke historie, van de schepinge des werelts, tot 't jaer des Heeren 1666. Aengehecht met een korte Wereltlyke historie van't begin der eeuwen tot den selven tijdt. In't Latijn beschreven door Georgius Hornius. . . . In het Nederduyts vertolck't, van den auteur oversien en vermeerder't. Waer aen is bygevoegt de Kerkelyke historie, en vervolg op de Wereltlyke historie sedert den jare 1666 tot 1684. Door Balthazar Becker. . . . Den tweeden druck. Amsterdam: Baltes Boeckholt, 1685. Frontispiece, [7] l., 392 p., [1], [14], [4] l., 62 p., [1] l., 78 p. 16 ½ cm.

Hornius' Church History ends with the year 1666. The supplement, bringing it up to 1684, is the work of Balthasar Bekker (1634–1698), the Dutch minister, whose famous book *De betooverde wereld* ('The world bewitched'), 1691–1693 (84), led to his deposition from the ministry. In the supplement, pp. 38 f., Bekker praises the character of Spinoza whom he knew and deplores the influence of his writings. In 1692 Jacob Koelman criticized Bekker's treatment of Spinoza in his *Het vergift van de Cartesiaansche philosophie* (87).

- 55 Leenhof, Frederik van. Kort onderwys inde christelyke religie volgens d'ordre van de Heilige Schrift, vertoonende beknoptelyk de wegen en menigvuldige wijsheid Gods, van het begin tot het eynde der wereld. . . . Den sesden druk. . . . Amsterdam: Wilhelmus Goeree, 1685. 61 p. including frontispiece. 15 ½ cm.

Frederik van Leenhof (159) wrote the *Korte onderwys* long before he became notorious as the author of the Spinozistic *Den hemel op aarden*. But, as Jenichen's

Historia Spinozismi Leenhofiani, 1707 (162) states, p. 79, Leenhof's *De keten der Bybelse Godgeleertheit*, 1682, already contains the seeds of his Spinozism. The *Kort onderwys* is a summary of *De keten* (p. 10).

- 56 **Malebranche**, Nicolas. Trois lettres de l'auteur de la Recherche de la verité, touchant la defense de Mr. Arnauld contre la Réponse au livre des vrayes & fausses idées. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1685. 280, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

For many years Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), with Spinoza, the greatest disciple of Descartes, and Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), leader of the Jansenistic school of Port-Royal, were involved in heated polemics. The controversy began with Arnauld's *Des vraies et des fausses idées*, 1683, directed at Malebranche's *Recherche*. Malebranche answered with a *Réponse*; Arnauld fought back with a *Défense contre la Réponse* to which Malebranche once more replied with *Trois lettres*.

In his *Défense* Arnauld had accused Malebranche of being a Spinozist, particularly with respect to his concepts of "vision in God" and of the "intelligible extent." Malebranche's rebuttal is found on pp. 69 ff., 72, 74 ff., 77 ff.

See also my notes on other works by Malebranche, nos. 70, 82, 167, 168, 169, 191, and 309.

- 57 **Poiret**, Pierre. Cogitationum rationalium de Deo, anima et malo libri quatuor. In quibus quid de hisce Cartesius, ejusque sequaces, boni aut secus senserint, omnisque philosophiae certiori fundamenta; atque imprimis tota metaphysica vterior, continentur; nec non Benedicti de Spinoza atheismus & exitiales errores funditus extirpantur. Editio altera, priore plus duplo auctior. Amsterdam: Ex typographia Blaviana, 1685. [26] l., 808 p. 20 cm.

Pierre Poiret (1646–1719) was in his younger years a Reformed minister in Southern Germany; later he lived a solitary life, devoted to study and meditation, in Hamburg and Holland.

The first edition of his *Cogitationes* appeared in 1677. Inspired by Descartes, the book closely follows the orthodox line of Cartesian philosophy. But when the second edition appeared in 1685, Poiret had become a mystic. Divine illumination now was to him the supreme source and test of truth. No wonder then that Spinoza, the rationalist who identified God as the highest rational goal, becomes the main target for Poiret's denunciations. The entire book is interwoven with extensive notes refuting Spinoza. A special appendix, *Fundamenta atheismi reversa, sive specimen absurditatis atheismi Spinoziani*, is particularly concerned with exposing the fallacies of Spinoza's *Ethica*.

- 58 **Simon**, Richard. Histoire critique du Vieux Testament . . . Nouvelle edition, & qui est la premiere imprimée sur la copie de Paris, augmentée d'une Apologie

generale & de plusieurs remarques critiques. On a de-plus ajouté . . . tout ce qui a été imprimé jusqu'à présent à l'occasion de cette Histoire critique. Amsterdam: Pour la Compagnie des Libraires, 1685. [20] l., 667, [45] p. 23 ½ cm.

Unauthorized edition of Simon's work (40 and 59).

- 59 **Simon**, Richard. Histoire critique du Vieux Testament . . . Nouvelle edition, & qui est la premiere imprimée sur la copie de Paris, augmentée d'une Apologie generale & de plusieurs remarques critiques . . . On a deplus ajouté . . . tout ce qui a été imprimé jusqu'à présent à l'occasion de cette Histoire critique. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1685. [20] l., 667, [45] p. 24 cm.

This edition was published as a replacement and emendation of the Elzevier edition of 1680 (40). It carries an *Advertissement* to the Reader signed by Reinier Leers, the publisher, to distinguish it from counterfeit editions such as the one of Amsterdam, 1685 (58).

- 60 **Simon**, Richard. Opuscula critica adversus Isaacum Vossium . . . Defenditur sacer Codex Ebraicus & B. Hieronymi tralatio. Edinburgh: John Calderwood, 1685. 86 p. 24 cm.

Isaac Vossius, the learned Dutch philologist who had settled in England, was among the writers who had attacked Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (40). The *Opuscula critica* represents Simon's reply. On p. 43 Simon cites Huet to show that the similarity between Spinoza's and his own views does not necessarily invalidate his assertions.

- 61 **Versé**, Noël Aubert de. L'impie convaincu, ou dissertation contre Spinosa. Dans laquelle l'on refute les fondemens de son atheisme. L'on trouvera dans cet ouvrage non seulement la refutation des maximes impies de Spinosa, mais aussie celle des principales hypotheses du Cartesianisme, que l'on fait voir être l'origine du Spinozisme. Amsterdam: Jean Crelle, 1685. [6] l., 274, [1] p. 16 ½ cm.

Noël Aubert de Versé (1650–1714), a French Catholic who left the church to become a Socinian and Unitarian living abroad, later returned to his country to make peace with the church, after having published books highly critical of Christian dogmas. His *Impie convaincu* is a refutation of Spinoza, Malebranche and Descartes. Versé is the first writer who clearly saw and expounded the link between Descartes and Spinoza: Spinozism has its source in Descartes.

Not everybody believed that Versé's book was a sincere refutation of Spinoza. John Howe, for example, held in his *The living temple*, 1702 (144) that it was just a front to promote Spinozism.

- 62 **Volder**, Burchard van. *Disputationes philosophicae omnes contra Atheos*. Middelburg: Johann Lateran, 1685. 59 p. 14 ½ cm.

Burchard de Volder (1643–1709), a follower of Descartes, who was professor of philosophy at Leiden, never acknowledged the *Disputationes*, academic lectures published against his will, as a book of his own. In his days and later, this little book, aimed at clarifying the Cartesian stand, prompted writers, among them Ruardus Andala as late as 1719, to accuse Volder of Spinozistic leanings. Volder was known to have had personal contact with Spinoza.

1686

- 63 **Deckherr**, Johannes. *De scriptis adespotis, pseudepigraphis, et suppositiis conjecturae, cum additionibus variorum*. Editio tertia altera parte auctior. Amsterdam: Isbrandus Haring, 1686. [6] l., 411, [17] p. 13 cm.

Johannes Deckherr, German jurist and bibliographer, was professor at the University of Strasbourg in the 1670s. He discusses the bibliographical problems of Spinoza's publications in his book, most amazingly, under the heading "de tribus maximis hujus seculi philosophis," meaning Campanella, Hobbes and Spinoza (pp. 322, 331–334). An added letter by Pierre Bayle contains (pp. 387 f.) corrections of Deckherr's remarks as to the author of the preface to the *Opera posthuma* (695). A mention of Spinoza in connection with Anton Le Grand's *Institutio philosophiae secundum principia D. Renati Descartes* (34) is found on p. 321.

- 64 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *Theologia christiana ad praxin pietatis ac promonitionem pacis christianae unice directa*. Amsterdam: Henricus Wetstenius, 1686. [8] l., 916 p., [16] l., 23 p. 23 ½ cm.

Philipp van Limborch (1633–1712), the famous Dutch Remonstrant theologian and friend of John Locke, wrote this, his most important book, as a full exposition of the Remonstrant creed. On pages 99 and 100 he states that in his *Synopsis theologiae* of 1671 (7), Franz Burmann, professor in Utrecht, had included statements taken verbatim from Spinoza's first book and that he harbored Spinozistic sentiments. This "calumny" led to a controversy, drawn out over many years, in which many writers became involved; see my notes on Limborch, *Defensio contra Ioannis van der Waeyen iniquam criminationem*, 1699 (124) and Franz Burmann, Jr., *Burmannorum Pietas*, 1700 (132).

See also my notes on the editions of 1700 and 1715 (135 and 224).

- 65 **Seckendorff**, Veit Ludwig von. *Christen-Stat in drey Buecher abgetheilet*. Im ersten wird von dem Christenthum an sich selbst, und dessen Behauptung,

wider die Atheisten und dergleichen Leute; im andern von der Verbesserung des weltlichen, und im dritten des geistlichen Standes, nach dem Zweck des Christenthums gehandelt. . . . Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1686. Portrait, [22] l., 719, 424 p., [22] l. 16 ½ cm.

Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (1626–1692), German statesman and camerarist, presents an indictment of atheism from the viewpoint of Pietism and pleads for the subordination of church to state. The *Additiones*, pp. 139–142, contain an "Anzeige von der laesterlichen Meynung eines getauften Jueden in Nederland Spinoza genannt," mainly a summary of the refutation of Spinoza by Henry More in his *Opera omnia*, 1679 (35).

- 66 **Sturm**, Johann Christoph. *Philosophia eclectica. h.e. exercitationes academicae, quibus philosophandi methodus selectior . . . explicatur antehac ex cathedra disputatoria publice ventilatae*. . . . Altdorf: Johannes Heinrich Schoennerstaedt, 1686. [6] l., 674 p., [10] l. 16 cm.

This collection of Sturm's academic writings contains, pp. 139–195, his 1677 dissertation *De Cartesianis et Cartesianismo* (28). An appendix deals with Spinoza's *Opera posthuma*, which Sturm did not know in 1677, and Val. Albert's opinion of Spinoza (pp. 192–194).

1687

- 67 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *De veritate religionis christianae amica collatio cum erudito Judaeo*. Gouda: Justus ab Hoeve, 1687. [8] l., 364 p., [7] l. 23 ½ cm.

This disputation between Philipp van Limborch (64) and an "erudite Jew," Isaac Orobio de Castro (145), contains Uriel da Costa's autobiography, *Exemplar humanae vitae* and other important information on his life. Da Costa or Acosta (1585–1640), a Marrano born in Oporto, Portugal, had like Spinoza been excommunicated by the rabbis of Amsterdam because of his heretic views. He shot himself after having made a recantation and been subjected to the humiliation of public penance. The *Exemplar* was composed immediately before his suicide.

- 68 [Simon, Richard]. *De l'inspiration des livres sacrés: Avec une réponse au livre intitulé, Défense des Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament, par le Prieur de Bolleville*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1687. [1] l., 221, [14] p. 24 cm.

Richard Simon wrote this book to clarify his stand on Spinoza with whose views his antagonists had associated the method and results of his *Histoire critique* (40). The book contains two works: the first, *Lettre a Monsieur l'Abbé P., D.*

et P. en Th. touchant l'inspiration des livres sacrés, against some Paris theologians; the second, *Réponse au livre intitulé, Défense des sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, mainly directed at Jean Le Clerc (81). Simon polemicizes on p.30 against Frassen's *Disquisitiones biblicae*, which, in order to refute Spinoza, argued against the established views of the most learned theologians; on pp.31–43, against Dupin's treatise in his *Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques* (90) in which Dupin argued, weakly, against Spinoza and Simon; pp. 43–49 contain a refutation of Spinoza's arguments denying the authority of the Mosaic scriptures. Spinoza, says Simon, develops some impressive truths, but his conclusions are wrong and impious.

- 69 [Tschirnhausen, Walther Ehrenfried von]. *Medicina mentis, sive tentamen genuinae logicae, in qua disseritur de methodo detegendi incognitas veritates*. Amsterdam: Albertus Magnus & Johannes Rieuwerts, Jr., 1687. Half title (*Medicina mentis et corporis*), [7] l., 224 p., followed by [Tschirnhausen], *Medicina corporis*, Amsterdam, 1686. 19 ½ cm.

Walther Ehrenfried von Tschirnhausen (1651–1708), a widely travelled German count, lived for a few years in Holland where he joined the circle around Spinoza and became one of his visitors and correspondents. While in Paris, he met Leibnitz whom he acquainted with Spinoza's ideas. For his *Medicina mentis*, a work on scientific method and epistemology, Tschirnhausen borrowed the title from Spinoza. The book leans heavily on Spinoza's *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*, although Spinoza is never quoted by name, merely as "quidam." Christian Thomasius in his *Gedancken* of 1688 (72) dealt extensively with Tschirnhausen's Spinozism.

1688

- 70 Malebranche, Nicolas. *Entretiens sur la métaphysique & sur la religion*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1688. [3] l., 604 p. 15 ½ cm.

Malebranche, under attack as a Spinozist (see my notes on no. 56), expresses his opposition to and disgust with the awful and ridiculous chimeras of Spinoza (p.289 and pp.315 ff.); *Entretien VIII* presents a refutation of Spinoza's *Ethica*.

See also my notes on the edition of 1711 (191).

- 71 Pufendorf, Samuel. *De jure naturae et gentium . . . Editio ultima, auctior multo, et emendatior*. Amsterdam: Andreas van Hoogenhuysen, 1688. [4] l., 928 p., [4] l. 21 ½ cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1684 (53).

- 72 Thomasius, Christian. *Schertz-und ernsthafter, vernuenfftiger und einfael-tiger Gedancken, ueber allerhand lustige und nuetzliche Buecher und Fragen . . . in einem Gespraech vorgestellet von der Gesellschaft derer Muessigen. Erster (-sechster) Monat*. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Georg Weidmann; Halle: Christoph Salfelden, 1688. [8] l., 860 p. 16 ½ cm.

In 1684, when Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) was appointed professor of natural law at the University of Leipzig, he started his daring attacks against the prejudices in theology and jurisprudence. The *Gedancken*, the first journal in the German language to deal with scholarly matters, was an effective means in this crusade. Thomasius' enemies fought back. He was forbidden to lecture and write and his arrest was ordered. He escaped to Berlin. The Elector of Brandenburg offered him a refuge in Halle, where Thomasius became one of the founders of the University.

Thomasius' journal devotes much space to discussions of Spinoza, of his opponents and of Spinozists such as Walther Ehrenfried von Tschirnhausen (69), who hide under the mask of attackers of the philosopher. Specifically, discussions of Spinoza are found as follows: March, 1688: pp.333–338, Poiret and Spinoza; pp.338–343, Spinoza and Spinozism; pp.343 ff., Velthuysen and Spinoza; pp.416 ff., Tschirnhausen, a Spinozist; June, 1688: pp.746–848, Tschirnhausen's defense and Thomasius' response concerning Tschirnhausen's Spinozism.

1689

- 73 [Abbadie, Jacques]. *Traité de la verité de la religion chrétienne*. Troisième édition, reveüe, corrigée, & augmentée. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1689. 2 vols. [10] l., 544 p., [4] l.; 485, [5] p. 15 cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1684 (49). The refutation of Spinoza appears in vol. I, pp.254–389.

- 74 Bontekoe, Cornelius. *Alle de philosophische, medicinale en chymische werke . . . Neffens den ophouw van een ware philosophie, medicyne en chymie. . .* Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1689. 2 vols. [24] l., portrait, [4] l., 355, 402 p., [1] l.; [4] l., 432, 411, [7] p. 21 cm.

Cornelius Bontekoe (1640–1685) was one of the most celebrated and at the same time controversial physicians of his age. Practising in his native Holland first, he later lived in Germany. As a philosopher he was close to Geulincx whose *Ethica* he edited (23).

At times he had been accused of atheism (he was among those who tried to

acquire the books left by Spinoza). "I will one day show the world," he wrote in his *Tractaat van het excellenste kruid thee*, a quaint work on the numberless virtues of tea, published only two years after Spinoza's death, "what sort of an atheist I am, when I refute the godless works of Spinoza, and likewise those of Hobbes and Machiavelli, three of the most cursed villains that ever walked this earth." In the version of this book as reprinted in these collected works, Bontekoe merely states that wisdom is the highest good man can acquire on this earth, but then qualifies this statement at length "to eliminate the suspicion as if I somewhat amplify the sentiments of the impious Spinoza" (vol. 2, p. 75f.).

- 75 **Simon**, Richard. *Histoire critique du Nouveau Testament, où l'on établit la vérité des actes sur lesquels la religion chrétienne est fondée*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1689. [8] l., 430 p. 23 ½ cm.

Richard Simon, the author of *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (40), uses his book on the New Testament to present in greater detail (pp. 272–302) his objections to Spinoza's Bible criticism which he had outlined before in general terms in his *Opuscula critica*, 1685 (60) and *De l'inspiration des livres sacres*, 1687 (68).

- 76 **Simon**, Richard. A critical history of the text of the New Testament; wherein is firmly establish'd the truth of those acts on which the foundation of Christian religion is laid. London: R. Taylor, 1689. 2 vols. [4] l., 168 p.; [1] l., 186 p., [4] l. 21 ½ cm.

English translation of no. 75.

1690

- 77 **Brinck**, Henricus. Toet-steen der waarheid en der dwalingen, ofte klaare en beknopte verhandelinge van de Cocceaanse en Cartesiaanse verschillen. Den tweeden druk. . . . Utrecht: Weduwe van Willem Clerck, 1690. [28] l., 710 p., [12] l. 15 ½ cm.

Henricus Brinck (1645–1723), a preacher in Utrecht, never relented in fighting Descartes and Cocceius. No wonder then that in this anti-Cartesian book (first published in 1685) Spinoza and whoever cites him without accusing him, as for example Wittich in a minor remark in his *Anti-Spinoza*, 1690 (83), are roundly condemned (pp. 84. ff., 94, 206, 232).

- 78 [**Conway**, Anne]. *Principia philosophiae antiquissimae & recentissimae de Deo, Christo & creatura id est de spiritu & materia in genere*. Quorum bene-

ficio resolvi possunt omnia problemata, quae nec per philosophiam scholasticam, nec per communem modernam, nec per Cartesianam, Hobbesianam, vel Spinosianam resolvi potuerunt. Opusculum posthumum e lingua Anglicana Latinitate donatum, cum annotationibus ex antiqua Hebraeorum philosophia desumptis. Amsterdam, 1690. [6] l., 144 p. 13 cm.

Anne, Viscountess Conway, née Finch (1631–1679), was "a Woman learn'd beyond her sex, being very skill'd in the Latin and Greek tongues, and exceedingly well vers'd in all kinds of philosophy" (foreword to the English version of the *Principia*). An eccentric lady, a Quaker, and for most of her life sick with intolerable headaches, she surrounded herself with philosophical friends, such as Henry More, the cabalist Knorr von Rosenroth and Francis Mercury van Helmont, who tried to cure her. The *Principia* was written during Lady Conway's last years. Similarities with Helmont's writings indicate that she began to write her book in 1671. After her death, More and Helmont planned to publish the manuscript and Helmont wrote an introduction to it which was never used (printed in Ward, *The life of the learned and pious Dr. More*, London, 1710, pp. 203–209). To secure a better reception for the book, More translated the English manuscript into Latin. After Lady Conway's death, he took the manuscript to Holland where in 1690 it was published in Amsterdam. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Conway letters: the correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway*, etc., New Haven, 1930, p. 453, n. 6 discusses the identity of the author of the introduction. According to her the introduction is signed J. C., meaning John Clark; however, in my copy the initials seem to read "J. G."

This extremely rare book, "one of the most original philosophical documents written by a woman," is strongly influenced by contemporary Cabalism and attempts to harmonize Christian religion and the new science of the century. Spinoza's philosophy is refuted on pp. 125–132.

Leibnitz was deeply impressed by Lady Conway's *Principia*. Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi in *Ueber die lehre des Spinoza* in 1785 (564) regarded the *Principia* as a work by Helmont and characterized its cabalistic philosophy as "undeveloped or newly confused Spinozism."

- 79 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. *Alnetanae quaestiones de concordia rationis et fidei*. Caen: Jean Cavelier, 1690. [4] l., 437, [13] p. 24 cm.

Pierre Daniel Huet wrote the "Aulnay [or Aunay] Questions" when he was an abbé in that town. While his *Demonstratio evangelica* (33) attempts a scholarly refutation of Spinoza's Bible criticism, the *Alnetanae quaestiones* merely vilifies him (pp. 49, 76–78).

- 80 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. *Demonstratio evangelica. Ad Serenissimum Delphinum. Tertio editio ab auctore recognita, castigata, & amplificata.* Paris: Daniel Hortemels, 1690. [8] l., 824 p. 34 cm.

The third edition of the work which appeared first in 1679 (33).

- 81 [**Le Clerc**, Jean]. Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. (London), 1690. 239 p. 14 cm.

Jean Le Clerc (Clericus) (1657–1736), a French Protestant theologian, later professor of philosophy at Amsterdam, was a friend of John Locke and the editor of a number of influential journals. His role in promoting free thought was considerable, though openly he never sided with it. In 1685, in his *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, he took up the positions of Hobbes and Spinoza, and of Simon, on the Pentateuch. Simon answered with his *De l'inspiration des livres sacrés*, 1687 (68). Though he refused to go the way of Spinoza and remained something of a Scripturalist, his opinions were regarded as almost-Spinoza, subtler but more dangerous than Spinoza, as de la Mothe, *The inspiration of the New Testament*, 1694 (101) pointed out; or “improved upon Spinoza,” as Lowth, *A vindication*, 1699 (126) put it.

The *Five letters* are not a translation of the *Sentimens* in their entirety (as Robertson, *A short history of freethought*, vol. 2, 1906, pp. 201 ff., and others believe). The first two letters are from the *Sentimens*, the remaining three from the *Défense des Sentimens, etc., contre la Response du Prieur de Bolleville*, i.e. Richard Simon. The English translator states that the *Five letters* are not for the pious, but for those in search of truth “built on the foundation of solid reason.”

Pages 125, 126 ff., and 234 offer examples of Le Clerc's attitude toward Spinoza.

- 82 [**Malebranche**, Nicolas]. *Méditations chrétiennes, par l'auteur [de] De la recherche de la vérité.* Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgang, 1690. 364, [1] p. 13 cm.

The *Méditations chrétiennes* was first printed in 1683. In it, Malebranche (56, 70) indignantly denies any similarity between his ideas and those of the “miserable Spinoza” (pp. 145 ff., 147, 149). Altogether paragraphs 1–13 of the ninth meditation present Malebranche's views on the subject of Spinozism.

- 83 [**Wittich**, Christoph]. *Anti-Spinoza sive examen Ethices Benedicti de Spinoza, et commentarius de Deo et ejus attributis.* Amsterdam: Johannes Wolters, 1690. [7] l., 424 p. 20 cm.

This book appeared three years after Wittich's death. His *Theologia pacifica*, 1683 (48), had briefly dealt with Spinoza. His posthumous work, however, conveys a first-hand thorough knowledge of Spinoza's books and letters. Wittich's

contemporaries accused him, who knew Spinoza personally, of having written his *Anti-Spinoza* as a defense of Spinoza in the guise of a refutation.

The anonymous letter of a Spinozist to which Wittich replies, pp. 417 ff., is by Frederik van Leenhof (15a).

1691

- 84 **Bekker**, Balthasar. *De betoverde wereld, zynde een grondig ondersoek van't gemeen gevoelen aangaande de geesten, derselver art en vermogen, bewind en bedryf: als ook't gene de menschen door derselver kragt en gemeenschap doen.* Amsterdam: Daniel van den Dalen, 1691–1693. 4 vols. [10] l., 139, [2] p.; [4] l., 246, [2] p.; [4] l., 188, [2] p.; [3] l., [288] p. (the numbers 217–224 appear twice). Each volume carries the handwritten signature of the author to mark it as part of the authorized first edition.

Balthasar Bekker (1634–1698), a pastor in Amsterdam who lost his pulpit after his sensational book appeared, denies the existence of the devil and attacks the belief in sorcery and magic. *The bewitched world* was prohibited and attacked in hundreds of books and pamphlets. A faithful disciple of Descartes, Bekker rejects Spinoza's concept of God (*Voorrede*, l. **3; vol. 2, p. 9). Nevertheless, he was accused of Spinozism, for example in Jacob Koelman's *Het vergift van de Cartesiaansche philosophie*, 1692 (87).

- 85 **Het leven** van Philopater, opgewiegt in Voetiaensche talmeryen, en groot gemaakt in de verborgentheden der Coccejanen. (vol. 2: *Vervolg van't Leven van Philopater. Geredd uit de verborgentheden der Coccejanen, en geworden een waaragtig wysgeer.*) Een waare historie. Groeningen: Voor Siewert van der Brug, in de Waerheyd (vol. 2: in de waarheid), 1691–1697. 2 vols. [8] l., 221 p.; 292 p. 12 ½ cm.

The authorship of these two volumes is not clear. Following Colerus, the older sources say that Aard Wolsgryk, or Wolsgreen, a bookdealer in Amsterdam, was their publisher and, at least, author of part of them. Others limited his contribution to the *Vervolg* and note that for his part in its publication he was sentenced in 1698 to eight years in prison and a high fine. W. Meyer, *Een theologische roman uit de 17de eeuw*, in *Archief voor Nederlandsche kerkgeschiedenis*, 1899, attributed the work to Johannes Duiker, about whose life we know practically nothing. A strong point has been made that both volumes have different authors.

The first volume, *Het Leven van Philopater*, is a combined attack against Cartesians, Cocceians and Voetians, mentioning Spinoza briefly in the preface, pp. 7 f., and his followers in other places.

The second volume, *Vervolg van't Leven*, however, is an important document of early Spinozism. "We find in this book, without any doubt, a rather pure tradition from Spinoza's most intimate circle of friends on the true meaning of difficult points in his teachings" (Dunin-Borkowski, *Die Philosophie des ersten Spinozistischen Romans, Nachlese zur ältesten Geschichte des Spinozismus*, in *Archiv fuer Geschichte der Philosophie*, v. 24, pp. 71 ff., also Dunin-Borkowski, *Spinoza nach dreihundert Jahren*, 1932, pp. 116 f.). This Spinozistic novel denounces the adversaries of Spinoza, denies immortality, spirits and miracles, asserts the infallibility of reason, and comes out against the divinity of the Scriptures.

The Dutch translation of Bayle's Spinoza biography, *Het leven van B. de Spinoza*, 1698 (120), contains extensive critical annotations by Halma on the *Vervolg*.

There are two editions of the *Vervolg*, if v. d. Linde's description is correct; he lists 300 pages, my copy has 292.

1692

- 86 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. *Alnetanae quaestiones de concordia rationis et fidei* . . . Juxta exemplar Cadomense et Parisinum recusae. Leipzig: Johann Grosius Vidua & Haeredes, 1692. [2] l., 437, [27] p. 24 cm.

A reprint of the first edition of 1690 (79).

- 87 **Koelman**, Jacob. *Het vergift van de Cartesiaansche philosophie grondig ontdekt. En meest historischer wijze, uit de schriften van des Cartes zelfs, en van andere schrijvers, zo voor als tegen hem, getrouwelijk aangewezen. Op gestelt, tot een grondt van de wederlegging van Bekkers Betooverde wereld*. Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1692. [16] l., 669, [32] p. 15 ½ cm.

Jacob Koelman (1632–1695), a Dutch preacher, examines the dangers inherent in Descartes' philosophy and denounces the even more dangerous teachings of his followers, such as Spinoza (pp. 487–507) and Balthasar Bekker. He finds parallels between Spinoza and Bekker's *Betooverde wereld* which had appeared the year before (84), comments on Bekker's report on Spinoza in Hornius' *Kerkelycke Historie*, 1685 (54), and underlines his criticism with the statement that Bekker was personally acquainted with Spinoza.

- 88 **Morery**, Louis. *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* . . . Sixième édition. . . . Utrecht: François Halma & Guillaume vande Water; etc., 1692. 4 vols. [1] l., frontispiece, [18] l., 522 p.; [2] l., 570 p.; [2], 562 p.; [2] l., 588 p. 36 ½ cm.

The first edition of the encyclopedic dictionary by Louis Morery (Moreri), (1643–1680), appeared in 1673. The following editions were greatly augmented. The article on Spinoza lacks all critical sense.

- 89 **Witsius**, Hermann. *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri iv* . . . Utrecht: Franciscus Halma, 1692. Frontispiece, [13] l., 859, [47] p., 6 plates. 20 cm.

Hermann Witsius (1636–1708), an anti-Cartesian professor at Utrecht, critically deals with Spinoza's exposure of prophecy, pp. 59 ff., 63 f., and his rejection of Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch, pp. 104 f., 116 f., 255.

- 90 **Dupin**, Louis Ellies. *Nova bibliotheca auctorum ecclesiasticorum, eorum vitae historiam, operum catalogum, critice, et chronologiam, complectens* . . . Paris: Sumptibus Societatis (vol. 2: Cologne: Sumptibus Huguetanorum), 1692–1693. 3 vols. Frontispiece, [11] l., 74 p., [1] l., 374 p., [21] l.; frontispiece, [5] l., 710 p.; [4] l., 595 p. 21 cm.

Louis Ellies Dupin (1657–1719), French church historian, became widely known for his *Bibliothèque universelle de tous les auteurs ecclésiastiques*, 1686 ff. He himself prepared the Latin translation. The opening dissertation on the authors of the Holy Scriptures refutes Hobbes, Pereyra, and Spinoza who denied Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch, and Richard Simon, who in his *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (40), uttered opinions no less rash and dangerous than Spinoza's (pp. 11–12, 15–26). Simon counterattacked in *De l'inspiration des livres sacres*, 1687 (68).

An enlarged version of the opening dissertation, *Dissertation préliminaire*, appeared in 1701 (136).

1693

- 91 **Bekker**, Balthasar. *Die bezauberte Welt: oder eine gruendliche Untersuchung des allgemeinen Aberglaubens, betreffend, die Arth und das Vermoeen, Gewalt und Wirkung des Satans und der boesen Geister ueber den Menschen, und was diese durch derselben Krafft und Gemeinschaft thun* . . . Aus dem Hollaendischen nach der letzten vom Authore vermehrten Edition . . . in die teutsche Sprache uebersetzt. Amsterdam: Daniel von Dahlen, 1693. 39, (1), 136, 270 p., [1] l., 179, [3], 308, (4) p. 20 ½ cm.

German translation by the author, Balthasar Bekker, of his *De betoverde wereld*, 1691–1693 (84).

- 92 **[Coste, Pierre]**. *The life of Lewis of Bourbon, late Prince of Conde. Digested into annals. With many curious remarks on the transactions of Europe for*

these last sixty years. Done out of French. London: Tim. Goodwin, 1693. [1] l., portrait, [7] l., 278, 221 p. 19 cm.

The English translation, by Nahum Tate, the playwright and poet, of the first edition of Pierre Coste's work; see my notes on the French edition of 1694 (98).

- 93 **Mayer**, Johann Friedrich. *Dissertationes selectae Kilonienses & Hamburgenses, varii & rarioris argumenti, utpote de . . . Benedicto Spinosam bibliomastygem . . . autographis biblicis . . .* Frankfurt on Main: Friedrich Knoch, 1693. Portrait, [7] l., 599 p., [16] l. 17 cm.

Johann Friedrich Mayer (1650–1712) was a pastor in Hamburg and professor in Kiel at the time this collection of his dissertations and other papers was published. It contains Mayer's invitational program for the public lectures he held in 1688, *Adversus Benedictum Spinosam bibliomastygem*, an invective against Spinoza, "scourge of the Bible" (pp. 418 ff.). The dissertation *Utrum autographa biblica hodie extent?* by Georg Overmann discusses Spinoza's Bible criticism (see pp. 546 f., 552 f., 557).

- 94 **Rappolt**, Friedrich. *Opera theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica . . .* Curante Jo. Benedicto Carpzovio . . . Leipzig: Lancke, 1693. [10] l., 2243, (89) p. 19 ½ cm.

Friedrich Rappolt (1615–1676), Lutheran theologian and professor in Leipzig, was among the first to denounce Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* shortly after its publication. In an inaugural lecture, *Oratio contra naturalistas*, held in June 1670 (pp. 1383–1407), he describes Spinoza, without knowing or mentioning his name, as an atheistic naturalist. In the announcement of this lecture, issued on May 29 (pp. 2162, 2164), he characterized him similarly.

- 95 **Thomasius**, Jacob. *Dissertationes LXIII. Varii argumenti magnam partem ad historiam philosophicam & ecclesiasticam pertinentes, antea a beato autore in Academia Lipsiensi . . . publicatae, nunc conjunctim editae a filio Christiano Thomasio . . .* Halle: Johannes Friedrich Zeitler, 1693. [8] l., 749 p. 15 ½ cm.

This posthumous collection of Jacob Thomasius' dissertations, edited by his famous son, Christian (72), contains a reprint of the "program," *Adversus anonymum, de libertate philosophandi*, the first printed refutation of Spinoza's *Tractatus* (9).

1694

- 96 **Abbadie**, Jacques. *A vindication of the truth of Christian religion, against the objections of all modern opposers. Written in French . . . Render'd into*

English by H[enry] L[ussan]. London: Jonathan Robinson, etc., 1694. [3] l., 16, 528 p. 18 cm.

English translation of Abbadie's *Traité de la vérité de la religion chretienne* (49).

- 97 **Burthogge**, Richard. *An essay upon reason, and the nature of spirits.* London: John Dunton, 1694. [3] l., 280 p. 18 cm.

Richard Burthogge (1638?–1694?) studied medicine in Holland and became a successful practitioner in his native England. Of his three philosophical books, *An essay upon reason* is the most important. Influenced by the Cambridge Platonists and by John Locke, to whom the book is dedicated and whom he criticizes in important respects, Burthogge develops a spiritualist metaphysics based on epistemological analysis: we know things by our senses, but the images and ideas thus occasioned rest on a world of entities outside our consciousness. Spinoza is "in another persuasion, . . . he understands by Substance, that which is in it self, and is conceived by it self" (pp. 94 f.). Burthogge feels that his idea of Mind is easier to conceive than Spinoza's (p. 109) and outlines the differences between his concept of God and that of Spinoza, a "theologizing philosopher" (pp. 116 ff.).

- 98 [**Coste**, Pierre]. *Histoire de la vie de Louis de Bourbon Prince de Condé.* Cologne: Richard Lenclume [Amsterdam], 1694. 2 vols. [2] l., 312 p.; [1] l., 235 p. 16 cm.

This biography, in the form of annals, of the Prince of Condé by Pierre Coste (1668–1747), French writer, translator and editor, records Spinoza's visit to Condé at Utrecht and mentions the invitation extended by Condé to Spinoza to leave Holland and live in Paris (where there is no lack of women and pleasures!).

See my notes on the edition of 1695 (107), and the English translation of 1693 (92).

- 99 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. *Demonstratio evangelica, ad Serenissimum Delphinum. Quarta editio . . . amplificata . . .* Leipzig: J. Thomas Fritsch, 1694. Portrait, [31] l., 1187 p., [40], [2] l., 69, [7] p., map. 20 cm.

See my notes on the first edition, 1679 (33).

- 100 **Kidder**, Richard. *A commentary on the Five books of Moses: with a dissertation concerning the author or writer of the said books; and a general argument to each of them.* London: William Rogers, 1694. 2 vols. [2] l., 80, 20, 468 p.; [1] l., 584 p. 19 cm.

Richard Kidder (1633–1703), Bishop of Bath and Wells, refutes in the opening dissertation the arguments against the Mosaic authorship of the Bible propounded by Hobbes, by Isaac de la Peyrère's *Praeadamitae*, and Spinoza. Spinoza's "objections" in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* are rejected point by point (pp. xxix–lxxi).

- 101 **La Mothe**, Claude Grossette de. The inspiration of the New Testament asserted and explain'd. In answer to some modern writers. London: Thomas Bennet, 1694. [6] l., 178 p. 17 cm.

Claude Grossette de la Mothe (1647–1713) was a French Protestant theologian who died a refugee in London. His book is a defense of the authenticity of the New Testament prompted by the biblical criticism of Jean Le Clerc's *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande* (81).

De la Mothe believes that Le Clerc gave Spinoza's notions a more subtle and even more dangerous air (pp. 9 f.). His discussion of Spinoza's arguments and the way to refute them is found on pp. 95 f., 115 f., 162 ff., 171 ff.

- 102 **Morey**, Louis, and others. The great historical, geographical and poetical dictionary; being a curious miscellany of sacred and prophane history . . . Now done into English. . . . London: Henry Rhodes, etc., 1694. 2 vols. Unpaged. 38 cm.

This encyclopedia is the first in the English language. It is mainly a translation of the sixth edition of Morey's *Dictionaire*, 1692 (88), augmented from other sources and edited, according to the interests of an English reader. Morey's Spinoza article reappears slightly shortened.

- 103 **Poiret**, Pierre. De eruditione solida, superficiali, et falsa . . . In quibus ostensa veritatum solidarum via & origine, cognitionum scientiarumque humanarum, & in specie Cartesianismi, fundamenta, valor, defectus & errores deteguntur. Praemittitur Tractatus de vera methodo inveniendi verum . . . Editio nova cui accessit Christiani Thomasi, J.Cti Dissertatio de scriptis autoris. Frankfurt & Leipzig: Joh. Friedrich Zeidler, 1694. Frontispiece, [31] l., 552, 199 p. 1 plate. 16 ½ cm.

Poiret's book, which first appeared in 1692 and the treatise appended to it, *De vera methodo inveniendi verum*, attack the principles of Cartesian philosophy. Spinoza's teachings are singled out as a prime example of rationalist fallacies (*De vera methodo*, pp. 166–171). About Poiret and his anti-Spinozism, see my notes on his *Cogitationes*, 1685 (57).

Another edition of *De eruditione* was published in 1708 (172).

- 104 **Spanheim**, Friedrich, Jr. Controversiarum de religione cum dissidentibus hodie Christianis, prolixè & cum Judaeis, elenchus historico-theologicus. . . . Amsterdam: Johannes Wolters, 1694. [12] l., 682 p. [1] l. 17 cm.

Friedrich Spanheim, Jr. (1632–1701), professor in Heidelberg and Leiden, discusses recent controversies caused by the writings of pseudo-philosophers, anti-Scripturalists and libertines, among them Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpret* (3) and the works of Spinoza, "the ex-Jew" (pp. 622, 627, 638–643).

- 105 **Ménage**, Gilles. Menagiana, ou bons mots, rencontres agreables, pensées judicieuses, et observations curieuses. Seconde édition augmentée. Paris: Pierre Delaulne, 1694–1695. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [23] l., 430 p.; frontispiece, [28] l., 449 p. 13 ½ cm.

Gilles Ménage (1613–1692) was a French linguist and author of many scholarly works; his fame rests largely on *Menagiana*, a not so scholarly, often gossip, collection of miscellanea. The collection, published posthumously, contains an apocryphal report on Spinoza's sojourn in France and escape from there (vol. 2, p. 15).

Noël Argonne, *Mélanges*, 1725 (276), refuted Ménage's account.

See also my notes on the enlarged edition of the *Menagiana* of 1729 (307).

- 106 **Til**, Salomon van. Het voorhof der heydenen, voor alle ongeloovigen geopent, om de selve aldaar door een klare beschouwing van de betoogde goddelykheyd van Mosis wet-boek tot een eerbiediger ingang in't heyligdom van Gods wet toe te rusten. (vol. [2]: Vervolg op't Voor-hof der heydenen, waar in de grond-stellingen van Mosis wet en wet-boek met de reden-leer werden ver-effent, en haar vastigheyd tegen de ongodisten nader tot versterkinge des geloofs betoogt.) Dordrecht: Dirk Goris, 1694–1696. 2 vols. [4] l., 394 p.; [5] l., 251, [13] p. 19 ½ cm.

Salomon van Til (1643–1713), professor in Leiden, was a Dutch Cartesian under the theological influence of Cocceius. His *Voor-hof der heydenen* aims at proving the divine character of the Pentateuch against atheistic writers. Thus he deals extensively with Spinoza (vol. [1], pp. 5 ff., 52 ff., 152 ff., 172 ff., 196 ff., 257 f.; vol. [2], 147 ff., 200 ff.). Spinoza is also mentioned in the poem by H.G. Snabelius, prefacing vol. [2].

However, what makes his book a source of paramount importance is the fact that van Til somehow had access to Spinoza's lost Spanish *Apologia* and quotes

from it (pp. 5 f. and 152 f.), and that he refers to an unpublished letter reporting a discussion with Spinoza on themes of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (pp. 172 f.). Carl Gebhardt was the first to recognize the importance of these passages (*Inedita Spinozana*, Heidelberg, 1916, pp. 7 ff.); however, he did not notice that in the second volume of the *Vor-hoof*, p. 200, van Til refers to "reliable notes (from a conversation with Spinoza)."

1695

- 107 [Coste, Pierre]. *Histoire de Louis de Bourbon II. du nom Prince de Condé, premier prince du sang. Seconde édition, reveüe, corrigé & augmentée par l'auteur.* Cologne: Chez F**** [Amsterdam], 1695. Portrait, [7] l., map, 508 p., [15] l. 15 ½ cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1694 (98); the report on Spinoza, p. 471, is shortened.

- 108 La Mothe, Claude Grostête de. *Traité de l'inspiration des livres sacrez du Nouveau Testament.* Amsterdam: Pierre Brunel, 1695. [8] l., 239 p. 15 cm.

French edition of the English version published in 1694 (101).

- 109 [Tschirnhausen, Walther Ehrenfried von]. *Medicina mentis, sive artis inveniendi praecepta generalia. Editio nova, auctior & correctior, cum praefatione autoris.* Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1695. Half title (*Medicina mentis et corporis*), [13] l., 296 p., followed by [Tschirnhausen]. *Medicina corporis*, Leipzig, 1695. 19 cm.

Second considerably enlarged edition; see my notes on the first edition of 1687 (69).

- 110 Vries, Gerard de. *Exercitationes rationales de Deo, divinisq; perfectionibus. Nec non philosophemata miscellanea. Editio nova, ad quam, praeter alia, accedit Diatribe singularis genuina altera, De cogitatione ipsa mente; altera, De ideis rerum innatis.* Utrecht: J. & G. vande Water, 1695. [10] l., portrait, p. 1–260, [5] l., p. [261]–508, [6], [4] l., 117, [9] p. 21 cm.

The *Exercitationes*, of which the first edition appeared in 1685, often refers to Spinoza. Sometimes he is mentioned by name or book (towards the end of the *Praefamen*, and pp. 43 ff. and 326 f.); sometimes he is alluded to by way of a pun (*Praefamen: spinoza meditamenta*; *Exercitatio* III: wishing on some persons "istis Spinis suffocati," p. 34); mostly the book refers to his system in general terms.

- 111 Witsius, Hermann. *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV. . . Editio secunda . . .* (vol. 2: . . . continens XXIII exercitationes . . .). Leiden: Fredericus Haaring; Amsterdam & Utrecht: Franciscus Halma and Wilhelm vande Water, 1695–1700. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [28] l., 859, [46] p., 6 plates; [8] l., 951, [54] p. 20 cm.

The first volume of this second edition, otherwise identical with the first of 1692, contains a new *Praefatio*, with additions and corrections on Spinoza, pp. v. and VIII.

1696

- 112 Hattem, Pontiaan van. *Petrus verlost uit de magt van syn misbruikers, ofte een schriftmatige verklaringe, en geestelijke toepassing van 2 Petri cap: I. v: 3–11. Nevens een Onderzoek over de 86. vrage van den Heidelbergsen Catechismus . . . Uytgegeven toot een vertoog van de regtsinnigheid des Autheurs.* The Hague: Engelbregt Boucquet, 1696. [6] l., 171 p. 14 ½ cm.

Pontiaan van Hattem (1641–1706) studied at the University of Leiden and the academy at Saumur and while he was at the latter school he was already accused of studying Spinoza's books. He became a pastor in a Zeeland town, but lost his pulpit in 1683 after publishing a heretical book on the Heidelberg Catechism. Continuing his writings in the same vein and leading religious meetings, Hattem attracted enthusiastic followers and became the center of hot controversy (218). His books were burned. Jacob Bril (183), Marinus Adriansz Booms (218), and Gosuinus van Buitendijk (256) are the best-known of his disciples who developed varied forms of Hattemistic Spinozism.

Petrus verlost, suppressed shortly after its publication, is a treatise permeated by Spinozistic thought. The dominating idea is that God's origin is in Nature (p. 32) and that God's creatures are modifications of his substance who in truth do not act but suffer. Piety thus becomes passivity and is never action. Man is in God and basically not different from Him.

- 113 Hornius, Georg, Balthasar Bekker and Melchior Leydekker. *Kerkelyke en wereldlyke historie, van de scheppeninge des werelts, tot jaer des Heeren 1666. In't Latijn beschreven door Georgius Hornius . . . In het Nederduyts vertaalt, waer aen is bygevoegt de Kerkelyke en wereldlyke historie, sedert den jare 1666, tot 1684. door Balthazar Becker . . . Den derden druck. Nevens een derde vervolg tot den jare 1696. Door Melchior Leydekker. . .* Amsterdam: Abraham van Someren, 1696. Frontispiece, [7] l., 392; [28] p., [4] l., 62 p., [1] l., 78 p., [1] l., 146, [9] p. 16 cm.

See my notes on the earlier edition of 1685 (54). This third edition of 1696 contains a further updating of church history by Melchior Leydekker, with references to Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpret* (3), p. 6.

- 114 [Lami, François]. Le nouvel athéisme renversé, ou refutation du système de Spinoza tirée pour la plupart, de la connoissance de la nature de l'homme. Par un Religieux Benedictin de la Congrégation de Saint Maur. Paris: Jean de Nully, 1696. [15] l., 540 p., [1] l. 16 cm.

Dom François Lami (1636–1711), a follower of Descartes and Malebranche and a member of the influential Benedictine order at St. Maur, wrote this refutation of Spinoza at the request of Bossuet and Fénelon. The latter's approbation appears in the book together with that of other important churchmen, and the extract of a letter of Fénelon, *Sur la réfutation de Spinoza*, appears at the end of the book. Such massive support was necessary to convince the doctors of the Sorbonne that Lami's refutation of Spinoza, based on geometrical reasoning, did not show the "atheistic monster" in too favorable a light. In fact, in order to find more favor with the ecclesiastic censors, Lami added to his original manuscript a refutation according to the "common method." Ten years after Lami had begun writing it, the book appeared demonstrating that Spinoza's teaching destroyed humanity, morality and the political order.

Excerpts from this book were reprinted in Fénelon, etc., *Réfutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza*, 1731 (315).

- 115 Le Clerc, Jean. De l'incrédulité, où l'on examine les motifs & les raisons générales qui portent les incrédules à rejeter la religion chrétienne. Avec deux lettres où l'on en prouve directement la vérité. Amsterdam: Henri Wetstein, 1696. [4] l., 376 p. 14 cm.

This is a strange book! Jean Le Clerc, so often the promoter of liberal thought, as in his *Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, 1690 (81), writes a defense of the Christian religion, and particularly its miracles, against its non-believing detractors. The first part of Spinoza's *Ethica* is to him [Le Clerc], who in other works argued that religion and rational thought harmonize, an example of a philosophy attacking religion with absurd ideas (pp. 47 f.) and Spinoza's denial of miracles is rejected by way of arguments which the orthodox gladly adopted (pp. 358 ff.).

- 116 Tietzmann, Heinrich. . . Atheismi inculpati monstrum, publicae philosophantium disquisitioni sistent, praeses M. Henricus Tietzmann, . . . & respondens M. Johann Ludolph Thilo, . . . ad diem VII, Martii a.MDCXCVI. Wittenberg: Christian Schroedter, (1696). [16] l. 19 ½ cm.

This uninspired academic paper discusses Spinoza (chapters XII, XV, XVII and XVIII), Matthias Knutzen (chapter IX) and other atheists, mostly by quoting established philosophical and theological literature.

- 117 Bayle, Pierre. Dictionnaire historique et critique. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1697. 2 vols. in 4. [2] l., 12 p., p. 1–712; [1] l., p. 713–1359, [1] p.; [1] l., p. 1–710; [1] l., p. 711–1331, [57] p. 37 ½ cm.

Pierre Bayle (45), the French philosopher and man of letters, was interested in Spinoza for most of the 25 years of his life spent in Holland. As a philosophical skeptic he rejected Spinoza's ontological system and secured the right to accept faith despite its lack of reasonableness; as an enlightener he praised Spinoza's moral life and emphasized that natural morality had nothing in common with religious conformance.

In the 18th century, the article "Spinoza" in Bayle's epoch-making *Dictionnaire* (vol. 2, pp. 1083–1101, *Additions* p. 1330) was the main source for the biographical knowledge of Spinoza and was widely exploited or plagiarized. Translated into Dutch by Halma, it was published in book form in 1689 and 1711 (120, 187).

See also my notes on the editions of 1702 (141) and 1740 (374), the English translation of 1738 (354), and the German translation of 1741–1744 (385).

- 118 Berns, Michael. Die dreyfache Welt, als der Christen, Phantasten und Bezauberten, in dreyen Buechern abgefasset, davon das erste handelt von der christlichen Religion, dass dieselbe die aller-gewuenschte, und hoechst-beglueckseligende, und dass dannenhero die Christen auch die aller-gesegneste, gewuenscheste, und recht erleuchtete vernuenfftige Menschen, die nicht eben eines traegen und melancholischen Temperaments, als wofuer sie die Welt annimmt, sondern die eines recht hurtigen und munteren Geistes und Gemuehtes seyn. In dem andern Buche wird bewiesen, dass keine Hoffnung zu einem tausendjaehrigen Reiche. Item, dass das wahre und thaetige Christentum nicht befordert werde durch den Naturalismus, und noch weniger durch den Enthusiasmum, oder auch Quakerismus, sondern dass diese letztere mit einander nur verlarvte Teufel, und Phantasten seyn. Und im dritten Buch wird des Hn. D. Beckers bezauberte Welt (worin er die Gewalt und das Wuercken des Satans oder der boesen Geister auff den Menschen, verleugnet) von Grund aus, und das von § zu § wiederlegt. Hamburg: Gottfried Liebezeit, (1697). [4] l., 958 p. 19 ½ cm.

Michael Berns, pastor in Schleswig and Wandsbeck, was the author of a refutation of Spinoza's *Ethica*, to which he refers in the preface of this work, although it is not clear to me from his strangely worded reference, whether or not the work was actually published. He also wrote *Das natuerliche Licht des Verstandes*, 1711, another opus directed against Spinoza. A third book, *Altar der Atheisten, der Heyden und der Christen, entgegengesetzt den drei Ertz-Betriegern*, Herbert,

Hobbes und Spinoza, Hamburg, 1693 is a translation of Christian Kortholt's *Liber de tribus magnis impostoribus*, 1680 (39). Jacob F. Reimmann, the 18th century bibliographer who, being orthodox, should have liked it, said of this translation that it read like the effort of a drunkard.

The *Die dreyfache Welt*, an explosively baroque book, often sounding indeed as if it were written by a man not entirely sober, is mainly a confutation of Boehme and Bekker, though the "naturalism" of Spinoza is duly condemned at a number of places; see the preface (already mentioned), and pp. 428, 445, 448 f., 454 ("der Brutalismus des Spinoza"), 467 f. ("Boehmism and Spinozism one and the same"), 470 ("der allerverfluchste Spinoza"), 491, 705, 933.

- 119 **Jaquelot**, Isaac. *Dissertations sur l'existence de Dieu, où l'on demontre cette verité par l'histoire universelle de la premiere antiquité du monde: par la refutation du systeme d'Epicure et de Spinos a. . .* The Hague: Etienne Foulque, 1697. Frontispiece, [21] l., 705 p. 23 1/2 cm.

Isaac Jaquelot (1647–1708), a Protestant theologian, living as a refugee from France in Heidelberg, The Hague and Berlin, represents the extreme Cartesian viewpoint in dissecting and rejecting Spinoza. His *Dissertations* often offer run-of-the-mill arguments in favor of revelation and miracles, but his analysis of Spinoza's *Ethica* is penetrating.

Parts of the book were translated by Halma and added to his Dutch translation of Bayle's Spinoza article, *Het leven van B. de Spinoza*, 1698 (120).

1698

- 120 **Bayle**, Pierre. *Het leven van B. de Spinoza, mit eenige aantekeningen over zyn bedryf, schriften, en gevoelens: door den Heer Bayle, leeraar deer wysgeerte te Rotterdam. Nevens een kort betoog van de waarheit des christelyken godtsdiensts; en twee verhandeligen, I. Van de ziel. II. Van Godts wezentlykheit. Door den Heer Jaquelot, leeraar der Fransche Kerke in 's Gravenhaage. Vertaalt door F. Halma. De voorreden behelscht eenige aanmerkingen tegens 't Levensvervolg van Philopater. Utrecht: François Halma and Willem vande Water, 1698. [95] l., 464 p., [8] l. 16 cm.*

This book, compiled by François Halma (1653–1722), a bookdealer in Utrecht, Holland, contains his Dutch translation of Bayle's article on Spinoza from the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1697 (117), Bayle's annotations, and a Dutch translation of those chapters in Jaquelot's *Dissertations sur l'existence de Dieu*, 1697 (119), which are particularly relevant to Spinoza. Halma's critical annotations on the Spinozistic *Vervolg van't Leven van Philopater* (85) introduce the collection.

- 121 **Benthem** [Bentheim], Heinrich Ludolff. *Hollaendischer Kirch-und-Schulen-Staat*. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Nicolaus Foerster, 1698. Frontispiece, [23] l., 910, 750 p.; illustrations. 16 cm.

Heinrich Ludolff Benthem (Bentheim) (1661–1723), a German protestant theologian and educator, treats in this book, which sometimes reads like a travel guide, the religious and educational state of affairs in Holland. His report on Spinoza (part II, pp. 350 ff., see also part I, p. 625) is entirely secondhand, though his account of the Jews of Amsterdam is interesting. The bibliography at the end of the work lists writings against Spinoza, Bekker and Hobbes (pp. 735 ff.).

- 122 **Fabricius**, Johann Ludwig. *Opera omnia, quibus praemittitur Historia vitae et obitus ejusdem, authore Joh. Henrico Heideggero*. Zurich: David Gessner, 1698. [4] l., 462 p., [3] l., 156 p. 19 cm.

Johann Ludwig Fabricius (1632–1697), a Calvinist theologian, was professor at the University of Heidelberg. As confidential advisor to the Elector of the Palatinate, Karl Ludwig, he wrote the letter inviting Spinoza to teach at the Heidelberg University. The biography of Fabricius, *Historia vitae et obitus Johannis Ludovici Fabricii*, by his life-long friend, Johann Heinrich Heidegger (134), which is included in this volume, reports Fabricius' vehemently critical reaction upon reading Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in 1671 (pp. 70 f.) and gives an intimate account of the call which Spinoza received in 1673 (pp. 73 f.). M. Mayer, "Spinoza's Berufung an die Hochschule zu Heidelberg," in *Chronicon Spinozanum*, 1923 (pp. 20 ff.,) provides a detailed analysis of this account and shows that Fabricius by the tone of his letter and the wording of the conditions counteracted the Elector's intentions and contributed to the plan's failure.

See also my notes on Urbain Chevreau, *Chevraeana*, 1700 (133); Chevreau, who was also an advisor of the Elector, was instrumental in supporting Spinoza's candidacy and reports on it.

- 123 **Keill**, John. *An examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the earth. Together with some remarks on Mr. Whiston's New theory of the earth*. Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, 1698. [4] l., 224 p. 18 cm.

Thomas Burnet's famous *Telluris theoria sacra, or Sacred theory of the earth* (1681) and William Whiston's *New theory of the earth* (1696), both fanciful theories trying to harmonize scientific insight with biblical doctrine, are refuted as unscientific by John Keill (d. 1721), a physicist and mathematician, who later became a professor of astronomy at Oxford University. The two books are shown as providing good arguments for the atheists. Keill tries to

demonstrate that a great many philosophers, old and modern, among them Spinoza (p. 6), preceded Burnet and Whiston in promulgating notions more absurd and improbable than poetic fiction.

1699

- 124 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *Defensio contra Joannis van der Waeyen iniquam criminationem*. Amsterdam: Johann Groenewoudt, 1699. [2] l., 112 p. 15 cm.

In 1686 in his *Theologia Christiana* (64), Philipp van Limborch had stated that Franz Burmann, professor in Utrecht, had copied verbatim passages from Spinoza's first book. Johann van der Waeyen, a disciple of Voetius and Cocceius and a professor at the University of Franeker, came to Burmann's defense; in his lengthy *Dissertatio de λόγῳ contra Joannem Clericum* he devoted twenty pages (pp. 175–195) to an attempt to clear Burmann's of the awful defamation. Limborch answered with the *Defensio*. He reprints the attack on him contained in Waeyen's book and in a detailed analysis of both Burmann's and van der Waeyen's views he tries to establish that both are Spinozists. He broadens his original accusation, he finds in Burmann's book statements similar to Spinoza's in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and finds it highly possible that Burmann borrowed also from the *Tractatus*, published a year earlier.

See also my notes on Franz Burman, Jr.'s *Burmannorum pietas*, 1700 (132).

- 125 **Locke**, John. Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer to his Second letter: wherein, besides other incident matters, what his Lordship has said concerning: certainty by reason, certainty by ideas, and certainty by faith. The resurrection of the same body. The immateriality of the soul. The inconsistency of Mr. Locke's notions with the articles of the Christian faith, and their tendency to scepticism, is examined. London: A. and J. Churchill and E. Castle, 1699. [1] l., 452 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

In 1696, Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester (27) published *A discourse in vindication of the doctrine of the trinity*. In it he defended the concept of trinity against the Unitarian doctrine and attacked the philosopher John Locke (1632–1704), as well as John Toland, for having impugned it. A violent controversy resulted. Locke answered with a *Letter*, Stillingfleet responded with an *Answer*, to which Locke wrote a *Reply*. This reply prompted Stillingfleet to come forward with an *Answer to Mr. Locke's Second letter* (1698). Mr. Locke had the last word with the *Reply to Stillingfleet's Answer to his second letter* (1699). In his *Answer to Mr. Locke's Second letter* Stillingfleet had said that Locke, like Spinoza, seemed to think that revelation was nothing but the effect of an ex-

alted fancy (quoted on p. 151 of Locke's *Reply*). Stillingfleet had drawn Spinoza into the discussion even earlier in the controversy (quoted p. 414). To Locke, not well read in Hobbes or Spinoza, these two are justly decried names (p. 422).

- 126 **Lowth**, William. A vindication of the divine authority and inspiration of the Old and New Testament. In answer to a treatise lately translated out of French, entitled, Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures . . . The second edition, with amendments, and a new preface, wherein the antiquity of the Pentateuch is asserted, and vindicated from some late objections. London: William Horton, 1699. [24] l., 258 p. 16 ½ cm.

The *Vindication* appeared first in 1692. William Lowth (1660–1732), chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, denounces recent critics of the Bible, particularly Le Clerc's *Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, 1690 (81). The new edition of 1699 contains a new preface which makes the point that Le Clerc improved upon Spinoza (fourth and following pages of the preface) by the conjecture that a Samaritan priest sent into Israel by the King of Assyria edited the Pentateuch into its present form.

- 127 [**Simon**, Richard]. *De l'inspiration des livres sacrez: avec une reponse au livre intitulé, Defense des sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament: par le Prieur de Bolleville*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1699. 221, [14] p. 23 ½ cm.

This edition is an exact reprint of the first edition of 1687 (68). In fact, at least in my copy, two sheets, namely N and Cc, are remainders from the first edition.

- 128 **Thomasius**, Christian. *Versuch von Wesen des Geistes oder Grund-Lehren*, so wohl zur naturlichen Wissenschaft als der Sitten-Lehre. Halle: Christoph Salfelden, 1699. [15] l., 190 p. 17 cm.

In *Versuch von Wesen des Geistes*, an anti-Cartesian book, Christian Thomasius (72) points out that a pure Cartesian is not in a position to refute Spinoza and Bekker, but is likely to accept their main ideas (pp. 119 f.).

- 129 **Wachter**, Johann Georg. *Der Spinozismus im Juedenthumb, oder, die von dem heutigen Juedenthumb, und dessen geheimen Kabbala vergoetterte Welt, an Mose Germano sonsten Johann Peter Speeth, von Augspurg gebuertig, befunden und widerleget*. . . Amsterdam: Johann Wolters, 1699. [7] l., 256, 77. [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

Johann Peter Speeth (d. 1701), a bizarre figure, who after his conversion to Judaism, called himself Moses Germanus, considered the Cabala as the

essence of Jewish religion. Johann Georg Wachter (1678–1757), in later years renowned as a German philologist, had met Speeth in Amsterdam. They discussed Judaism, Cabala and Spinoza, and Speeth sent Wachter some of his weird pamphlets. *Der Spinozismus im Juedenthumb* represents Wachter's critical answer to Speeth's abstruse views.

The Cabala, Wachter agrees, is the Jewish philosophy, but, he continues, it is a "thoroughly irrational and contradictory hodge-podge." It culminates in the deification of the world and thus represents a form of theological materialism. Spinoza adopted it and should be understood as a Cabalist.

This, of course, was not meant as praise. The entire third part of Wachter's book is given to a refutation of Spinoza's deification of the world. Yet, contemporary as well as later writers considered Wachter a follower of Spinoza. And, indeed, seven years later in his *Elucidarius cabalisticus*, 1706 (160), Wachter openly came out for Spinoza, the Cabalist.

- 130 **Arnold, Gottfrid.** Unpartheyische Kirchen-und Ketzer-Historie, von Anfang des Neuen Testaments biss auff das Jahr Christi 1688. (vol. 3 and 4: . . . bestehend in Beschreibung der noch uebrigen Streitigkeiten im xviiiden Jahrhundert . . .). Frankfurt-on-Main: Thomas Fritsch, 1699–1700. 2 vols. (4 parts). [11] l., 422, 728 p., [26] l.; [4] l., 284, 848, 24 p., [10] l. 34 cm.

The *Kirchen-und Ketzer-Historie* is an amazing book, ahead of its time and different in purpose and climate of opinion from almost any other contemporaneous theological writing. It is a forerunner of 18th century enlightenment. Its author, Gottfrid Arnold (1666–1714), a German church historian, was a leader of the pietistic movement and the *Historie* reveals his pietistic tendencies by proving that the "true" Christians were rarely found among the orthodox. The book contains considerable biographical notes and a critical comment on Spinoza, the former mostly second-hand, the latter strikingly different from the venomous treatment which Protestant writers usually accorded Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 611–614; see also p. 608).

1700

- 131 **Brief van een vriend aan Dr. Melchior Leidecker.** N. p., [about 1700]. 16 p. 21 cm.

Melchior Leydekker [Leidekker] (1642–1721), a Calvinist theologian and professor in Utrecht, frequently engaged in the hot controversies arising from the influx of Cartesian ideas into Dutch theology. This pamphlet reviews Leydekker's recent books against the Cartesians, similar efforts of his friends,

and refers to Spinozist influences appearing in contemporary thought (pp. 8, 13 and 14). The unknown author is an opponent of Leydekker.

- 132 **Burman, Franz, Jr.** *Burmannonum pietas, gratissimae beati parentis memoriae communi nomine exhibita, a Francisco Burmanno, F. Adjiciuntur mutuae Cl. Limburgii & Fr. Burmanni epistolae.* Utrecht: Wilhelm vande Water, 1700. [11] l., 570, 101, [2] p. 16 cm.

This book is a touching monument of filial devotion. In 1686 Philipp van Limborch had accused Franz Burmann, in his *Theologia* (64), professor at the University of Utrecht, of having used passages from Spinoza's first book. Fourteen years later the younger Burman (d. 1714), a professor at the same university, rose to his father's defense and filled a book 570 pages strong in an attempt to refute the libel.

At the time *Burmannonum pietas* appeared, the controversy had grown beyond a limited family affair. Johann van der Waeyen (135) had defended the elder Burmann, Limborch had counter-attacked in his *Defensio*, 1699 (124), and others had thrown themselves into the mêlée.

Burmannonum pietas is an important historical source. Overlooked by almost all historians of Spinozism, probably because of its rarity, it contains important information on the early impact of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* on the Dutch Cartesians.

- 133 **Chevreau, Urbain.** *Chevraeana, ou diverses pensées d'histoire, de critique, d'erudition et de morale.* Amsterdam (Suivant la copie de Paris): Thomas Lombrail, 1700. 2 vols. Portrait, [2] l., 424 p., [12] l.; 448 p. 15 ½ cm.

Urbain Chevreau (1613–1701), a much-travelled Catholic courtier interested in philosophy and literature, was from 1671 to 1678 a sort of scholarly consultant and court philosopher at the Heidelberg palace of Elector Karl Ludwig. He and his friend, Johann Ludwig Fabricius (122), advised the Elector on matters concerning the University of Heidelberg. In 1672 they invited Tannequil Lefèvre to occupy the chair in philosophy, but Lefèvre died before he could come to Germany. Chevreau reports how he then recommended Spinoza for the professorship. Spinoza did not accept the call, Chevreau assumes, because of the condition made that he not "dogmatize."

Chevreau follows his report with a praise of Lami's anti-Spinozistic *Le nouvel athéisme renversé*, 1696 (114).

- 134 **Heidegger, Johann Heinrich.** *Corpus theologiae christianae, exhibens doctrinam veritatis, quae secundum pietatem est, eamque contra adversarios*

quoscumque, veteres & novos . . . ita asserens. . . Zurich: David Gessner, 1700. 2 vols. [3] l., portrait, [4] l., 742 p.; [10] l., 788 p., [18] l. 36 ½ cm.

Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–1698), an eminent Swiss theologian and professor at Zurich, shows an uncommonly thorough, first-hand knowledge of Spinoza's philosophy in his *Corpus* as well as other writings (see my notes on Fabricius, *Opera omnia*, 1698 (122) which contains a biography of Fabricius by Heidegger). The entry "Spinoza" in the *Index* to the *Corpus* sets forth the large array of varied topics which Heidegger treats in their connection to the Dutch philosopher.

- 135 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *Theologia christiana ad praxin pietatis ac promotionem pacis Christianae unice directa*. Editio tertia, ab autore recognita & aucta. Amsterdam: Sebastian Petzold; London: S. Smith & B. Walford, 1700. Portrait, [7] l., 780 p., [12] l. 31 cm.

This third edition contains as an appendix (pp. 853–880) Limborch's *Defensio contra Joannis van der Waeyen iniquam criminationem* and an excerpt of Johann van der Waeyen's *Dissertatio de λόγῳ*; (see my notes on the first edition of Limborch's *Defensio*, 1699 (124)).

1701

- 136 **Dupin**, Louis Ellies. *Dissertation préliminaire ou prolegomènes sur la Bible*. Pour servir de supplément à la Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques. Paris: André Pralard, 1701. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [3] l., 288 p.; [2] l., 147 p. 24 cm.

The *Dissertation préliminaire* is a vast enlargement of the dissertation on the authors of the Holy Scriptures which opens Dupin's *Bibliothèque universelle* and its translations (90). The arguments and the reasoning, in particular against Spinoza, are practically unchanged (vol. 1, pp. 59 ff., 72 ff.).

- 137 **Grew**, Nehemiah. *Cosmologia sacra: or a discourse of the universe as it is the creature and Kingdom of God*. Chiefly written, to demonstrate the truth and excellency of the Bible; which contains the laws of his Kingdom in this lower world. London: W. Rogers, S. Smith, and B. Walford, 1701. Portrait, [7] l., 18, 372 p. 31 cm.

Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712), the English physiologist and botanist, famous for his *Anatomy of Plants*, states in the preface why he wrote the book. "The many leud opinions, especially those of Antiscripturists, which have been published of late years; by Spinoza and some others, in Latin, Dutch, and English; have

been the occasion of my writing this book." Grew felt that as a natural scientist, not a theologian, he could contribute proof from a new angle to demolish the arguments of the anti-Scripturalists. There are a great many references to the author's fields of specialization, but his detailed refutation of Spinoza's arguments against the historical authenticity of biblical records (pp. 178 ff.) reads exactly like that of an orthodox theologian.

- 138 **Hosmann**, Sigismund. *Das schwer zu bekehrende Juden-Hertz, nebst einigen Vorbereitungs-Mitteln zu der Juden Bekehrung, auf Veranlassung der erschrocklichen Gottes-Laesterung, welche der Jude Jones Meyer . . . ausgerufen, . . . vorgestellt . . . Jetzo aufs neue uebersehen . . . und zum andern mahl dem Druck uebergeben*. Helmstaedt: Hieronymus Friederich Hoffmann, 1701. Portrait, [3] l., 456 p., [10] l., 104 p. 19 ½ cm.

When a Jewish thief was hanged in the German city of Zelle, Sigismund Hosmann (1660–?), a preacher in that town, tried to convert him while he was about to be executed. The Jew reciprocated with a few choice anti-Christian "blasphemies" shouted at the crowd which had come to see him hanged. His words so shocked Hosmann that he discussed the stubbornness of Jews in resisting salvation through Christ first in a sermon, and then in this book. Reproducing many of the classic antisemitic tales and adding new ones, *Das schwer zu bekehrende Judenhertz* became a classic of antisemitic literature.

Hosmann reproaches the Jews for having produced the most important atheists and naturalists. Spinoza, who according to Hosmann was baptized after his excommunication, is described as a prime example (pp. 384 f.).

- 139 **Kortholt**, Christian. *De tribus impostoribus magnis liber, denuo editus cura Sebastiani Kortholti*. Hamburg: Joachim Reumann, 1701. [4] l., 168 p. 21 cm.

This second edition of Christian Kortholt's polemic — the first edition had appeared in 1680 (39) — is valuable because of Sebastian Kortholt's biography of Spinoza, contained in the *Praefatio*, which draws on sources unknown to previous biographers of Spinoza. Sebastian, the son of Christian (1675–1749), like his father a professor at the University of Kiel, utilized information which Spinoza's landlord van der Spijck had given him. Sebastian Kortholt presents Spinoza as a dogmatic Orthodox would see him, but even he cannot but reluctantly praise the blameless character of the man whose philosophy he detests.

- 140 **Thomasius**, Christian. *Allerhand bissher publicirte kleine teutsche Schrifften . . . nebst etlichen Beylagen und einer Vorrede*. Halle: Christoph Salfeld, 1701. [8] l., 791 p. 16 cm.

Around Easter of 1688, Christian Thomasius announced to his students in his famous discourse, *Von den Maengeln der Aristotelischen Ethik* (reprinted here, pp. 71–115), that he would lecture on Christian ethics. He declared that Spinoza's writings had spread so widely that he would have to discuss Spinoza's *Ethics* so that his students could recognize the dangerous teachings (pp. 96 f.).

Thomasius' opposition to Spinoza, which he also expressed in his journal *Schertz-und ernsthafftige Gedancken*, 1688 (72), did not prevent his academic enemies from accusing him of atheism.

1702

- 141 **Bayle**, Pierre. Dictionaire historique et critique . . . Seconde édition, revuë, cor-rigée & augmentée par l'auteur. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1702. 3 vols. [2] l., 18 p., [4] l., 1096, 16, 7 p.; [1] l., p. 1097–2170, 16 p.; [1] l., p. 2171–3190, [46] l. 40 ½ cm.

Second edition of Bayle's *Dictionaire* (117) containing the "Spinoza" article in its definitive, considerably enlarged form (vol. 3, pp. 2767–2788).

This edition also contains fifteen other articles in which, more explicitly than in the first, Bayle examines the relation of various thinkers and religious philosophies with Spinoza's philosophy (Aristotle, Abélard, Abumuslimus, Averroës, Césalpin, Buridan, Caïnites, Diogène, Démocrite, Chrysippe, Japon, Leucippe, Lucrèce, Xenophane and Zenon).

- 142 [**Corvinus**, Johann Friedrich, compiler]. Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum Pantheon und geistliches Ruest-Hauss wider die alten Quacker und neuen Frey-Geister . . . [Koethen: Wilhelm Andreas Meyer,] 1702. 18 p., [6] l., 186 p., [6] l., 82, 84 p., [2] l., 44 p., [8] l., 367, 44, 16 p., [1] l., 18, 38, 48, 24 p., [4] l., 28 p., [3] l., p. 3–126; 49 plates. 34 cm.

This volume, probably compiled by Johann Friedrich Corvinus (d. 1724), a preacher in a small town near Halberstadt, Germany, comprises a collection of books and treatises by various authors, most of them anonymous, each trying to outdo the other in castigating "heretics" such as Quakers, Anabaptists, free-thinkers and atheists. Among them, displaying an excessive amount of almost obscene furor, is *Fuerstellung vier neuer Welt-Weisen, nahmentlich I. Renati Des Cartes, II. Thomae Hobbes, III. Benedicti Spinoza, IV. Balthasar Beckers, nach ihrem Leben und fuernehmsten Irrthuemern*. The *Fuerstellung* draws freely on Kortholt's *De tribus impostoribus magnis* (39), though leaving him far behind in vulgarity.

The portrait of Spinoza contained in the *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum Pantheon* is a badly done version of the engraving contained in a few copies of

Spinoza's *Opera posthuma*, 1677 (696); the caption reads "Benedictus de Spinoza, Judaeus et Atheista, etc."

See also my notes on the separate copy of the *Fuerstellung*, 1702 (143).

- 143 **Fuerstellung** vier neuer Welt-Weisen, nahmentlich I. Renati Des Cartes, II. Thomae Hobbes, III. Benedicti Spinoza, IV. Balthasar Beckers, nach ihrem Leben und fuernehmsten Irrthuemern. [Koethen: Wilhelm Andreas Meyer], 1702. 16 p. 32 ½ cm.

Die Fuerstellung is part of *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum Pantheon*, compiled by Johann Friedrich Corvinus, 1702 (142), but was also distributed separately without the portraits. The *Pantheon* as well as the *Fuerstellung* were always rare books, but the latter is cited more often than the former.

- 144 **Howe**, John. The living temple: or, a designed improvement of that notion that a good man is the temple of God. Part 1. Concerning God's existence, and his conversableness with man. Against atheism, or the Epicurean deism. (Part II. Containing animadversions on Spinoza, and a French writer pretending to confute him . . .) London: R. Clavell, etc. (vol. 2: Thomas Parkhurst, etc.), 1702. 2 vols. Portrait, [1] l., 35, [1], 366 p., [1] l.; portrait, [1] l., 21, [1], 470 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

John Howe (1630–1706), an English Puritan and Nonconformist, and chaplain to Cromwell, worked on *The living temple* over many years. The first part appeared initially in 1676; with its re-issue in 1702 Howe added a second volume designed to refute Spinoza's metaphysical principles as they appear in the *Ethica*. At the same time Howe repudiates Noël Aubert de Versé's anonymous book *L'impie convaincu*, 1685 (144) for giving support to Spinoza while claiming that it refutes him.

Howe is one of the few writers who took issue with Cuffeler's Spinozistic *Specimen artis ratiocinandi*, 1684 (50) (pp. 34 f.).

1703

- 145 **Castro**, Isaac Orobio de. Certamen philosophicum propugnatae veritatis divinae ac naturalis. Adversus J. B. principia . . . Ex quibus quod religio rationi repugnat, demonstrare nititur. Quo in atheismi Spinosae barathro immer-sus jacet. Quod religio nil rationi repugnans credendum proponit, evidenter ostenditur. Amsterdam: Ex autographo A. Theodori Ossaan, 1703. 115 p. 12 cm.

Isaac Orobio de Castro (1620–1687), a Spanish Marrano, was a professor of philosophy at the University of Salamanca and subsequently a physician in

Seville. After years of torture in the prisons of the Spanish Inquisition, he escaped to France and then to Holland. A prominent member of the Jewish Community, de Castro lived since 1666 in Amsterdam. He is the "erudite Jew" who disputed with Philipp van Limborch (see my notes on Limborch's *De veritate religionis christianae amica collatio cum erudito Judaeo*, 1687 (67).

"J. B." against whom de Castro writes is Johannes Bredenburg, the Rotterdam Collegiant, whose *Enervatio Tractatus theologico-politici*, 1675 (21), had been accused as a Spinozistic writing. De Castro's little book, composed, as he says, after having read for years "Spinoza's, this bad man's, writings," is particularly important as one of the very few documents showing the attitude of Spinoza's fellow-Jews toward him. De Castro is radically opposed to atheistic Spinozism and to any form of Bible criticism.

I believe that this edition of 1703 is the first. It is of extreme rarity, mentioned by few writers and seen by less (van der Linde described a copy in Hamburg, however this copy perished during World War II). Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, vol. 10, 1868, note 1, p. XII) writes that the *Certamen* first appeared in 1684. Nothing is known of such an edition. Graetz's source, not mentioned by him, probably had reference to a manuscript of the kind which Moses Bensabat Amzalek's bibliography describes (Isaac Orobio de Castro, *La observancia de la Divina ley de Mosseh*, Coimbra, 1925, pp. XXVIII ff.). The edition of 1703 is made from a manuscript, *ex autographo A. Theodori Ossaan*.

A reprint of the *Certamen* appeared in Fénelon, etc., *Réfutation des erreurs*, 1731 (315).

See also my notes on de Castro's *Israel vengé*, 1770 (523).

- 146 **Proeleus**, Immanuel. *Religio, hominis et boni civis naturalis, vindicata ab objectionibus & exceptionibus* Bened. Spinosae & Th. Hobbesii, auctoritate amplissimi ordinis philosophici in Academia Lipsiensi praeside M. Immanuele Proeleo, Stolp. Pomer. respondente Jacobo Immanuele Hamilton. Ad diem 20. Januar. M. DCCIII. . . . Leipzig: Joh. Heinrich Richter, (1703). [16] l. 19 ½ cm.

Immanuel Proeleus is known as the author of a number of small philosophical writings and comments on natural law. A German, he later lived in Amsterdam.

As a *philosophiae magister* in Leipzig, he submitted the above dissertation which in its first part lists and then refutes erroneous arguments of Spinoza with respect to natural religion; the rest of the dissertation presents a similar refutation of Hobbes.

In 1704 Proeleus re-issued the dissertation in his *Demonstratio de certitudine sensuum, rationis, et fidei* (148).

- 147 [Bayle, Pierre]. *Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la comète qui parut au mois de decembre 1680*. Quatrième édition. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1704. 2 vols. [15] l., 616 p. (continuous pagination), [9] l. 15 ½ cm.

See my notes on the second edition of 1683 (45) and on Bayle's *Continuation des Pensées diverses*, 1705 (150).

- 148 **Proeleus**, Immanuel. *Demonstratio de certitudine sensuum, rationis, et fidei . . . Accessit dissertatio, qua naturalis religio hominis et boni civis evidenter demonstratur*. Leipzig: Theophil Georg, 1704. [8] l., 444, 118 p. 14 ½ cm.

Proeleus' dissertation, *Religio . . . vindicata ab objectionibus et exceptionibus* Bened. Spinosae et Th. Hobbesii, 1703 (146) forms the second and third chapters of the appendix to this book.

- 149 **Toland**, John. *Letters to Serena: containing, i. The origin and force of prejudices. ii. The history of the soul's immortality among the heathens. iii. The origin of idolatry, and reasons of heathenism. As also, iv. A letter to a gentleman in Holland, showing Spinoza's system of philosophy to be without any principle or foundation. v. Motion essential to matter; in answer to some remarks by a noble friend on the Confutation of Spinoza. To all which is prefix'd vi. A preface; being a letter to a gentleman in London, sent together with the foregoing dissertations, and declaring the several occasions of writing them*. London: Bernard Lintot, 1704. [26] l., 239 p. 19 ½ cm.

The Serena of these *Letters* is the Prussian queen Sophie Charlotte, who had befriended John Toland (1670–1722), the Irish freethinker, during his stay in Berlin. The queen had arranged for Toland, a temporary expatriate from London as a political and philosophical dissenter, to meet her friend Leibnitz and local scholars for philosophic discussions. The *Letters*, or at least some of the *Letters*, reflect these learned sessions.

Toland, at that time certainly in favor of many of the "theological" tenets of Spinoza and on the way toward the radical "Spinozism" of his *Adeisidemon*, 1709 (178) and *Pantheisticon*, 1720 (251), nevertheless disagrees with some of the purely philosophical consequences of Spinoza's system. It is interesting to note that his critique of Spinoza in this book never touches such issues as God, pantheism, atheism, etc.

A French translation appeared in 1768 (518).

- 150 [Bayle, Pierre]. Continuation des Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la comete qui parut au mois de decembre 1680. ou Reponse à plusieurs difficultez que Monsieur*** a proposées à l'auteur. . . . Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1705. 2 vols. [15] l., 802 p. (continuous pagination), [16] l. 15 ½ cm.

The *Continuation* was written years after the publication of the *Pensées* (45) to take care of many kinds of accumulated criticism. It takes up some of Bayle's familiar themes on Spinoza: Spinozistic atheism characterizes the dogma of Asian sects (p.68); Bayle's critique of Spinoza's concept of God (p.124); Spinoza, although he presents the most formalized kind of atheism, teaches laudable ethical doctrines (p.728). It also refers to Jurieu's criticism of Spinoza's God (p.489).

- 151 [Carroll, William]. Remarks upon Mr. Clarke's sermons, preached at St. Paul's against Hobbs, Spinoza, and other atheists. Wherein 'tis demonstrated: I. That Mr. C. by the sceptical hypothesis he employs, absolutely cuts off all possible means of knowing the nature, or of proving the existence of the one only true God, against Hobbs, Spinoza, or any other atheists whatever. II. That in reference to God, or spirits, he reduces humane understanding, to the most incurable state of scepticism. These two particulars are handl'd and prov'd geometrically. III. The reasons are produced which convince the author of this paper, that those sermons do rather establish than destroy, do rather confirm than confute Spinoza's hypothesis. London: Jonathan Robinson, 1705. [1] l., 42 p. 20 ½ cm.

In 1704/05 Samuel Clarke preached the R. Boyle lectures choosing for his topic a demonstration of the being and attributes of God against the views of Hobbes, Spinoza and their followers. The sermons were published in 1705; the *Remarks* by an anonymous writer appeared the same year. According to a contemporary inscription on the title page of my copy, the author of the *Remarks* is William Carroll. Carroll points out that Clarke mistranslated and misinterpreted Spinoza, and that his refutation is in effect a confirmation of Spinoza. Similarly, Carroll asserts that Locke borrowed many of his notions from Spinoza, in fact his "only design in writing his *Essay of humane understanding* was to establish Spinoza's hypothesis" (p.10). Carroll elaborated on the same theme in his *Dis-sertation upon the tenth chapter of the fourth book of Mr. Locke's Essay concerning humane understanding wherein that author's endeavours to establish Spinoza's atheistical hypothesis . . . are . . . confuted*. He is also the author of *Spinoza reviv'd*, 1709 (174).

Clarke rejected Carroll's attack in the preface of later editions of his sermons (189).

- 152 [Faydit, Pierre-Valentin]. Remarques sur Virgile et sur Homère, et sur le style poetique de l'Ecriture-Sainte; où l'on refute les inductions pernicieuses que Spinoza, Grotius et Mr. le Clerc ont tirées, et quelques opinions particulieres du Pere Mallebranche, du Sieur l'Elevel, & de Monsieur Simon. Paris: Jean & Pierre Cot, 1705. [8] l., 606 p., [19] l. 16 ½ cm.

Pierre-Valentin Faydit (1644–1709), an Oratorian abbot fond of literary gossip as much as of theological controversy, wrote about Virgil and Homer not as literary figures but rather to determine how their poetic figments stood up under the scrutiny of religion. Thus the verses of Virgil and Homer end up providing him with reasons to refute Socinianism and Spinozism (pp.102 ff.) and are found equally suited to dispute Malebranche, Le Clerc and Richard Simon or unmask them as Spinozists. On the other hand, Faydit is independent enough to censure for shallowness such an accepted anti-Spinozistic book as Kortholt's *De tribus impostoribus magnis* (39, 139) and his fellow-Oratorian Lelevel's attempts to criticize Spinoza (pp.198 ff.).

- 153 Gildon, Charles. The deist's manual: or, a rational enquiry into the Christian religion. With some considerations on Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the Oracles of reason, Second thoughts, &c. . . . London: A. Roper, etc., 1705. [15] l., 36, 16, 301, [1] p. 19 cm.

Charles Gildon (1665–1724) was the author of many books in many fields, all of them trite and incompetent. Brought up as a Catholic, he became a bellicose deist and published Charles Blount's *Oracles of Reason*. Then, under the influence of Charles Leslie, author of *A short and easie method with the Deists*, he converted to orthodoxy and wrote *The deist's manual* as a kind of apology.

The title page promises "considerations on Spinoza." He is nowhere expressly mentioned; whatever there is of polemics is handled implicitly.

- 154 Goeree, Willem. De kerklyke en weereldlyke historien . . . doorgans met noodige land-tafereelen, troni-beelden, aal-ouwe penningen . . . gestoefteerd. Amsterdam: Gerardus en Jakobus Borstius, 1705. Frontispiece, [21] l., 746 p., [47] l.; numerous plates and text illustrations. 20 cm.

Willem Goeree (1635–1711), an engraver and learned bookdealer in Amsterdam, was the author of numerous historical and religious books. His presentation of the life, teachings and influence of Spinoza in this illustrated history of the world follows closely, in concept and even wording, the Dutch translation by Halma of Bayle's biography published in 1698 (120).

An engraving of Spinoza by Goeree, done after the portrait of the *Opera posthuma* (696) appears on p.668.

- 155 **Vossius**, Gerhard Johann and Johann **Jacob**. *De philosophorum sectis liber. Cum continuatione & supplementis Johannis Jacobi a Ryssel*. Leipzig: Johann Caspar Meyer; Jena: Heinrich Beyer, 1705. [4] l., 216 p., [2] l. 19 ½ cm.

Gerhard Johann Vossius (1577–1649), the great classical scholar and friend of Hugo Grotius, left his book on philosophical schools for posthumous publication. It appeared in 1658. In 1690 it was re-issued with supplements by Johann Jacob à Ryssel. The above edition discusses Spinoza, his impious and horrible writings, and some of his opponents (p. 203).

1706

- 156 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Analecta historiae philosophicae*. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1706. 463 p., [12] l. 16 ½ cm.

Johannes Franz Budde [Buddeus] (1667–1729), professor of philosophy in Halle and Jena, dedicated his career to exposing the dangers of atheism (179, 202, 231, 248, 270, 288, 345, 375). *Analecta*, a collection of academic dissertations, contains the *Exercitatio historico-philosophica de Spinozismo ante Spinozam* (pp. 307–359), which searches Greek, medieval and cabalistic philosophy for traces of Spinozism — and, as can be expected, comes up with a long list.

- 157 **Colerus**, Jean. *La vie de B. de Spinoza, tirée des écrits de ce fameux philosophe, et du témoignage de plusieurs personnes dignes de foi, qui l'ont connu particulièrement*. The Hague: T. Johnson, 1706. (Followed by): **Colerus**, Jean. *La vérité de la résurrection de Jésus Christ, défendue contre B. de Spinoza, et ses sectateurs. Avec la vie de ce fameux philosophe*. . . . The Hague: T. Johnson, 1706. 288 p.; [4] l., 80 p. 15 cm.

Jean Colerus [Johann Koehler] (1647–1707), minister of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, first published his biography of Spinoza in Dutch (1705) together with a sermon against allegorical interpretations of Jesus' resurrection, which interpretations Colerus considered Spinozistic. The Dutch version was quickly followed, and for all practical purposes supplanted, by the inferior French version. Obviously, Colerus' biography was to follow his sermon. In my copy as well as in other copies the order is reversed: the biography was considered the more important book.

"Many details have been added, corrected or cleared up since, but Colerus remains the principal authority on Spinoza's life. He detests the philosophy of Spinoza, but is too honest to slander his character as a man, or even to conceal his admiration for it." (Pollock)

An English translation appeared in 1706 (158) and a German one in 1733 (323).

- 158 **Colerus**, Jean. *The life of Benedict de Spinoza . . . Done out of French*. London: Printed by D. L. And sold by Benj. Bragg . . . , 1706. [1] l., 92 p. 17 cm.

The English translation of the French version of Colerus' biography of 1706 (157).

- 159 **Leenhof**, Frederik van. *Der Himmel auf Erden, oder eine kurze und klare Beschreibung der wahren und beständigen Freude, so wol nach der Vernunft, als der H. Schrift, fuer allerley Ahrt Leuten in allerley Vorfaellen . . . Wobey ein Sendschreiben gefueget ist, was von diesem Werk zu halten*. Amsterdam: Jacob von Wesel, 1706. [6] l., 212, 22 p. 15 ½ cm.

Frederik van Leenhof's (1647–1712) *Den hemel op aarden* (Heaven on earth) appeared in 1704 and immediately the book by this preacher of the Reformed church in Zwolle, Holland caused a mighty tumult. Its main thesis is that the necessary order of nature is identical with God; bowing joyfully to that necessary order leads to happiness; revolting against or resenting the natural laws is revolting against God (55).

A host of writers sensing that the roots of Leenhof's teachings lay in Spinoza's *Ethica* accused him of heresy. Leenhof was excommunicated, but for many years his special brand of Spinozism, described in Jenichen's *Historia Spinozismi Leenhofiani*, 1707 (162), was hunted in suspect literature.

The translator of this extremely rare book is unknown; so is the identity of the author of the appended *Sendschreiben*, a mild rejection of Leenhof's book.

- 160 **Wachter**, Johann Georg. *Elucidarius cabalisticus, sive reconditae Hebraeorum philosophiae brevis & succincta recensio*. Rome [Rostock], 1706. [1] l., 78 p. 17 cm.

In his *Der Spinozismus im Juedenthumb*, 1699 (129), Wachter had asserted the Spinozistic character of the Cabala. The *Elucidarius* repeats this stance. However, whereas Wachter had rejected both philosophies in his earlier work, he now reverses his stand, declares that he misunderstood Spinoza as well as the Cabala, praises them and stands ready to accept and help spread their teachings.

Leibnitz was intrigued by Wachter's book; his notes on it, *Animadversiones ad Joh. Georg Wachteri librum de recondita Hebraeorum philosophia*, are contained in Foucher de Careil's *Une réfutation inédite de Spinoza par Leibnitz*, Paris, 1854.

- 161 **Basnage**, Jacques. *L'histoire et la religion des Juifs, depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu'à present. Pour servir de supplément & de continuation à l'Histoire de Joseph*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1706–1707. 5 vols. [29] l., 1132 p. (continuous pagination in vols. 1 and 2), [18] l.; [5] l., 2174 p. (continuous pagination in vols. 3, 4 and 5), [41] l. 15 ½ cm.

Jacques Basnage (1653–1723), a Protestant theologian and historian, was born in France, became a refugee in 1685 and died in Holland. His *Histoire des Juifs*

is one of the first attempts by a Christian, and a Christian theologian at that, to write an objective history of the Jews. Basnage's account of Spinoza, based mainly on Colerus, is on a higher level than most contemporary accounts (vol. 5, pp. 2106–2112). Spinoza's system, analyzed in vol. 3, pp. 86–107, is compared with the Cabala — “Spinoza preferred the learned of his nation to the philosophers and his great skill consisted in adjusting the principles of the Cabalists concerning emanations to those of Descartes” (vol. 1, l. [4]). This chapter benefits from Basnage's knowledge of Jewish medieval philosophy.

1707

- 162 **Jenichen**, Gottlob Friedrich. *Historia Spinozismi Leenhofiana publica in Belgio novissime damnati ex authenticis documentis collecta*. Leipzig: Jo. Herebord Klosius, 1707. [10] l., 234 p. 15 ½ cm.

The recent banning of Frederik van Leenhof's *Den hemel op aarden* (159) and its author's subsequent fluctuations as to whether to stand by the views of his book prompted Gottlob Friedrich Jenichen (1680–1735), professor of morals and politics in Leipzig, to write the history of the controversy which had raged since the book appeared in 1704. In addition, it provides important information on Spinoza based on an unusually thorough knowledge of the Spinoza literature. Jenichen had even travelled to The Hague to see Jean Colerus, the biographer of Spinoza.

A bibliography of anti-Spinozistic writings is given on pp. 52–73.

- 163 **Staalkopf**, Jacob. *Ab impiis detorsionibus Thomae Hobbesii & Benedicti de Spinoza, oraculum Paulinum Per ipsum vivimus, movemur, & sumus, Act. XVII*, 28. Greifswald: G. H. Adolph, (1707). 28 p. 21 cm.

Jacob Staalkopf, who studied at the University of Greifswald, Germany, and later became a pastor in Wismar, is the author of a number of dissertations presenting Spinoza's errors and misconceptions. In this one, suggested by his teacher Joh. Friedrich Mayer (93), he discusses the impious distortion of the Paulinian “In Him we live, move and are” caused by the Spinozistic theory of the immanence of the world in the substance. He further discusses the relationship of the Cabalists, and of Weigel and Boehme to Spinoza.

1708

- 164 **Basnage**, Jacques. *The history of the Jews, from Jesus Christ to the present time: containing their antiquities, their religion, their rites, the dispersion of the ten*

tribes in the East, and the persecutions this nation has suffer'd in the West. Being a supplement and continuation of the History of Josephus . . . Translated into English by Tho[mas] Taylor. . . London: J. Bearer and B. Lintot, etc., 1708. 10 p., [3] l., 759, [1] p. 37 ½ cm.

English translation of Basnage's *L'histoire et la religion des Juifs*, 1706–1707 (161).

- 165 **Bayle**, Pierre. *Miscellaneous reflections, occasion'd by the comet which appear'd in December 1680. Chiefly tending to explode popular superstitions . . . Translated from the French. To which is added, The author's life*. London: J. Morphew, 1708. 2 vols. 38 p., p. 1–326; [4] l., p. 329–550 (slightly erroneous continuous pagination); 224 p. 17 ½ cm.

The English translation of Bayle's *Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la comète* (45).

- 166 **[Gastrell, Francis]**. *The principles of deism truly represented and set in a clear light, in two dialogues between a sceptick and a deist. . . .* London: John Morphew, 1708. [1] l., 127, [1] p. 19 ½ cm.

Francis Gastrell (1662–1725), an English divine, bishop of Chester, Boyle lecturer and author of theological works, shows how the deficiencies of skeptical philosophies and deism, and their inconclusiveness, must lead the sincere thinker to the truth of Christian religion. He discusses the shortcomings of the mathematical method used by Spinoza (pp. 16 f.), and believes that Spinoza and other godless philosophers, because they lived under Christian magistrates, had to profess themselves Christians “to save their bacon.”

- 167 **[Malebranche, Nicolas]**. *Entretien d'un philosophe chrétien, et d'un philosophe chinois. Sur l'existence & la nature de Dieu. . . .* Paris: Michel David, 1708. [1] l., 73 p. 16 ½ cm. Issue showing January 5, 1708 as date of approbation (see the following entry).

This booklet appeared in January, 1708 and is one of the last writings of the aged Malebranche. He wrote it at the request of Bishop de Lyonne, formerly a missionary in China. The bishop had told Malebranche that his philosophy had been helpful in refuting the Chinese philosophers and asked him to compose a philosophical guide which would utilize the Chinese philosophical truths to expound and prove the Christian ones.

Upon the publication of the *Entretien* the Jesuits felt that it was a diatribe against them and the opinions they held on missionary work in China. Their journal, the *Journal de Trévoux*, published in July, 1708 a critique of the *Entretien*, accusing Malebranche's booklet of promoting Spinozism. Malebranche should

have been accustomed to this reproach which had been made with respect to many of his writings (56). Yet, almost immediately he answered with another booklet, *Avis au lecteur*, published in August, 1708 (169).

- 168 [Malebranche, Nicolas]. *Entretien d'un philosophe chrétien, et d'un philosophe chinois. Sur l'existence & la nature de Dieu. . .* Paris: Michel David, 1708. [1] l., 73 p. 15 ½ cm. Issue showing January 7, 1708 as date of approbation.

A different issue of the preceding work, having the same page count and the same distribution of the text over the pages, but different vignettes.

- 169 Malebranche, Nicolas. *Avis touchant l'Entretien d'un philosophe chrétien avec un philosophe chinois. . . pour servir de réponse à la critique de cet Entretien, inserée dans les Mémoires de Trévoux du mois de juillet 1708.* Paris: Michel David, 1708. [1] l., 40 p. 15 ½ cm.

In this little book Malebranche first explains what had motivated him to write his *Entretien* a few months before (167, 168). He then reviews the Jesuit attack on it paragraph by paragraph, protesting vehemently against the accusation of Spinozism leveled at him. His adversaries, he maintains, have misquoted him maliciously.

The *Journal de Trévoux*, December, 1708 renewed the attack, but Malebranche did not answer any more.

Another edition of this work appeared in 1730 (309).

- 170 Morhof, Daniel Georg. *Polyhistor. . . literarium, . . . philosophicum et practicum. . . Opus posthumum. . . accurate revisum, emendatum. . . a Johanne Moellero. . .* Luebeck: Petrus Boeckmann, 1708. 2 vols. Portrait, [5] l., 768 p.; [4] l., 30, 406, 534, 130, 80 p.; [104] l. 21 cm.

Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691) was a poet, linguist and lexicographer, who in his *Polyhistor* made the heroic attempt to present the entire realm of knowledge in one systematic book.

His notes on Spinoza, "Is there anything more pestilential than Spinoza's books?" (vol. 1, pp. 51, 78–79; vol. 2, p. 122; vol. 3, pp. 4, 47–48, 50) lack any originality.

- 171 Placcius, Vincent. *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum. . . auspiciis. . . Dn. Matthiae Dreyeri. . . luci publicae redditum. . .* Hamburg: Vidua Gothofredi, Liebernickelü, 1708. [1] l., frontispiece, [16] l., 722 p., [2] l., 623, 195 p. 34 cm.

Prepared by Vincent Placcius (1642–1699), a professor in Hamburg and a writer in many fields, and published posthumously under the editorship of Matthias

Dreyer, the *Theatrum* is the earliest attempt at a comprehensive dictionary of anonymous and pseudonymous literature. In fact, often it is more: the entry *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is a valuable lengthy dissertation on the book, its author and the early literature about it (part [1], pp. 176 ff.); see also pp. 150 f. on *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (3) and p. 566 on the French translation of the *Tractatus* (686–689).

The volume contains (last part, pp. 1–64) a reprint of Deckherr's *De scriptis adespotis*, 1686 (63).

- 172 Poiret, Pierre. *De eruditione triplici solida, superficialia et falsa libri tres, hac nova editione auctiores & correctiores, in quibus veritatum solidarum origo ac via ostenditur; tum cognitionum scientiarumque humanarum, & in specie Cartesianismi, fundamenta, valor, defectus, & errores deteguntur. Praemittitur Vera methodus inveniendi verum. Accedit Christiani Thomasii, J.Cti nova praefatio.* Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Zeitler, 1708. Frontispiece, 817, [6] p. 16 ½ cm.

A new edition of Poiret's *De eruditione* 1694 (103).

- 173 Deyling, Salomon. *Observationum sacrarum pars prima (-tertia), in qua multa scripturae Vet. ac Novi Testamenti dubia vexata solvuntur, loca difficiliora ex antiquitate et variae doctrinae apparatu, illustrantur, atque ab audaci recentiorum criticorum depravatione, sigillatim H. Grotii, B. Spinozae, R. Simonii, P. D. Huettii, Jo. Clerici, aliorumque solide vindicantur. . .* Leipzig: Frid. Lanckisch, 1708–1715. 3 vols. [8] l., 234 p., [11] l.; [8] l., 463, [23] p., 3 plates; [8] l., 471, [46] p. 6 plates. 20 ½ cm.

Salomon Deyling (1677–1755), a professor of theology at the University of Leipzig, was one of those orthodox churchmen who used an unending supply of invective to characterize the depravity of Spinoza's teachings (vol. 1, pp. 2, 67; vol. 2, pp. 3, 23, 184, 366). On the other hand, his listings of writings critical of Spinoza (vol. 1, pp. 7 ff.; vol. 2, pp. 3 ff.) are of some value.

1709

- 174 [Carroll, William]. *Spinoza reviv'd: or, a treatise, proving the book, entitled, The rights of the Christian Church, &c. (in the most notorious parts of it) to be the same with Spinoza's Rights of the Christian clergy, &c. And that both of them are grounded upon downright atheism. To which is added, A preliminary discourse relating to the said books, by the Reverend Dr. George Hicks.* London: J. Morphew, 1709. [36] l., 179 p. 19 cm.

The thesis of this book is that Matthew Tindal's *The rights of the Christian church*, an anti-clerical defense of the power of the state against rights assumed by the church, is in large parts identical with Lucii Antistii Constantis (i.e. Pierre de la Court's) *De jure ecclesiasticorum*, (1665) which William Carroll, like other early writers, attributed to Spinoza. Carroll (151) further shows that generally the teachings of deism follow Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Tindal is mostly remembered for the work of his late years, *Christianity as old as the creation; or the Gospel a reduplication of the religion of nature*, 1730, a milestone in English deism (316).

The author of the *Preliminary discourse*, George Hickes [sic] (1642–1715), an English divine and scholar, backs Carroll's thesis and denounces Tindal as an atheist in whose work the execrable principles of Spinoza are hidden.

- 175 **Des Maizeaux**, Pierre. La vie de Messire Charles de Saint-Denis Sieur de Saint-Evremond; Maréchal de camp des armées du Roi Très-Chrétien. 74 p., [1] l. 28 cm. (From: Saint-Evremond, Charles de Marguetel de Saint Denis. Oeuvres meslées, Seconde édition, vol. 1. London: Jacob Tonson, 1709.)

Saint-Evremond (1610–1703) was France's field marshal under Louis XIV. Involved in the fall of Fouquet, he had to flee abroad. As a litterateur, living in Holland and England, he occupied himself with historical and philosophic studies. Around 1670, and perhaps later, he visited Spinoza. His biographer, Pierre Des Maizeaux (1666–1745), about whose life little is known except that he was connected with St. Evremond and Pierre Bayle and spent the later part of his life in London, describes the impression Spinoza made upon the visitor (p. 29). Gustave Cohen, *Le séjour de Saint-Evremond en Hollande et l'entrée de Spinoza dans le champ de la pensée française*, Paris, 1926, maintains that it was through Saint-Evremond that Spinoza became an influence in French thought.

This edition of Des Maizeaux' biography of Saint-Evremond is the definitive one; see also my notes on the English translation of Saint-Evremond's *Works*, 1714 (217).

- 176 **La Placette**, Jean. Eclaircissemens sur quelques difficultez qui naissent de la consideration de la liberté nécessaire pour agir moralement. Avec une addition, où l'on prouve contre Spinoza que nous sommes libres. Pour servir de suite à la Réponse aux objections de Mr. Bayle. Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1709. [4] l., 388 p. 15 ½ cm.

Jean La Placette (1639–1718), who has been called the Nicole of the Protestants, was expatriated from France, became pastor of the French Church at Copenhagen and died in Utrecht, Holland. The lengthy dissertation (pp. 277–338), refuting Spinoza's denial of free will, continues from the point where La

Placette's *Réponse à deux objections qu'on oppose de la part de la raison à ce que la foi nous apprend sur l'origine du mal*, 1707, rests its attack against Bayle. Without free will, La Placette argues, there can be no morality and without morality no society to which, as Bayle would have it, moral atheists could be admitted.

- 177 **Stillingfleet**, Edward. Origines sacrae: or, a rational account of the grounds of natural and reveal'd religion. The eighth edition. To which is now added part of another book upon the same subject, written A.D. MDCXCVII. Published from the author's own manuscript. London: Henry and George Mortlock, 1709. Portrait, [14] l., 386 p., [2] l., 116 p., [1] l. 31 cm.

During his last years Edward Stillingfleet's involvement in controversy with nonconformists, deists and Socinians, which started much earlier (27), became even more intense. The second part of this book, written two years before his death and designed as "an answer to the modern objections of atheists and deists," deals with Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (pp. 63 f.), especially the question of religion and superstition; and Spinoza's "mathematical Ethics" and the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*, particularly the issue of final causes (pp. 93–99).

- 178 **Toland**, John. Adeisidaemon, sive Titus Livius a superstitione vindicatus. In qua dissertatione probatur, Livium historicum in sacris, prodigiis, & ostentis Romanorum enarrandis, haudquaquam fuisse credulum aut superstitiosum; ipsamque superstitionem non minus reipublicae (si non magis) exitiosam esse, quam purum putum atheismum . . . Annexae sunt ejusdem Origines judaicae. The Hague: Thomas Johnson, 1709. [11] l., 199, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

John Toland, who in his *Letters to Serena*, 1704 (149) had discussed Spinoza with deliberate prudence, propounds in his *Adeisidaemon*, five years later, the thesis that superstition is as dangerous to the state as atheism. In the appendix, *Origines judaicae*, he states that Moses was a pantheist and that Spinozism can be found in the Pentateuch and Spinoza's atheism appears in the name "Jehovah" (p. 193).

See also my notes on Johannes Franz Budde's *Invitatio*, 1710 (179) and *Dissertationum theologicarum syntagma*, 1715 (221).

1710

- 179 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. [Invitatio] . . . ad lectiones cursorias, quas vocant, et disputationem inauguratam . . . Io. Andreae Danzii. . . Jena: Adolph Muller, (1710). [16] l. 20 cm.

In this "academic invitation" Johannes Franz Budde (see my notes on his *Analecta*, 1706) cites the controversy which arose after Toland in his *Adeisidæmon*, 1709 (178) characterized Moses as a Spinozistic atheist.

- 180 **Jucundus de Laboribus.** Freye Gedancken von Realis de Vienna Pruefung des Versuchs vom Wesen des Geistes, den Christian Thomasius, P.P. in Halle, 1699. an Tag gegeben hat. zum andernmahl gedruckt. (Halle), 1710. 72 p. 16 ½ cm.

In 1699 Christian Thomasius published his *Versuch von Wesen des Geistes* (128). Gabriel Wagner (ca. 1665–?), a philosophic adventurer, writing under a nom de plume, Realis de Vienna, composed a biting attack against it. The identity of Jucundus de Laboribus who then wrote against Wagner is unknown.

The booklet denounces Wagner as a Spinozist: it says that he learned his mathematical tricks from Spinoza (p. 48) and teaches *aeternitas mundi* in the fashion of Spinoza's *Ethica* (p. 51).

- 181 **Laubrussel, Ignace de.** Traité des abus de la critique en matière de religion. Paris: Grégoire Du Puis, 1710–1711. 2 vols. [5] l., 39 p., [6] l., 394 p., [9] l.; [6] l., 417, [12] p. 16 ½ cm.

Ignace de Laubrussel, a Jesuit in Strasbourg, directs his wrath at the philological critics of the Bible, men like Richard Simon, Jean Le Clerc, Hugo Grotius, and their followers, who in his opinion demonstrate that the art of critique is in truth "the art of not believing anything." Spinoza, of course, who asked that in a free republic each individual be granted the right to think what he wishes (vol. 1, pp. 58 f.) and summarily destroyed the divine origin and authority of the Bible, becomes one of the main targets of Laubrussel's attack (vol. 1, pp. 201–204, 226, 237, 278; vol. 2, p. 326).

- 182 **Struve, Burkhard Gotthelf.** Introductio in notitiam rei litterariae et usum bibliothecarum[.] Accessit Dissertatio de doctis impostoribus et huic tertia editioni accedunt Supplementa necessaria et Oratio de meritis Germanorum in historiam. Jena: Ernst Claudius Bailliar, 1710. [8] l., 576 p., [23] l., 76 p., [2] l., 177, [10] p. 16 cm.

This work on libraries and booklore by Burkhard Gotthelf Struve (1671–1738), a German historian and librarian, relies on Bayle in dealing, in the chapter "De libris damnatis et prohibitis," with Spinoza's writing (pp. 451 f.).

A treatise on the *Liber de tribus impostoribus* (665, 667) is contained in the appended dissertation *De doctis impostoribus* (pp. 16–41).

- 183 **Theosophia pneumatica, oder, Geheime Gottes-Lehre, die Dinge Gottes vortragend im neuen Wesen des Geistes, abthuende das alte Wesen des Buchstabens,**

zur Entwoehnung der Saeuglinge von ihren sectirischen Mutter-Bruesten, erklæret von zwey glaubhafften Zeugen, deren Namen am besten zu finden in dem Buch der Lebendigen. N.p., 1710. [48] l., 568 p., folding chart, 80, 266 p., [3] l. 16 ½ cm.

I have not been able to determine the author or editor of the *Theosophia pneumatica*. Whoever he is, his book is aggressively pietistic as well as influenced by Jacob Boehme. It denounces all theological school-philosophies and propounds an individualized, strongly emotional religiosity derived from an immediate attachment to God. Jacob Bril (1639–1700), the Dutch Spinozist of Leiden, a follower of Hattem, who had dissolved Spinozism into a mysticism approaching pantheism, is praised in the preface as "the true though hidden theologian of our time." A German translation of Bril's *De weg des vredes, Der Weg des Friedens*, forms the final section of the book.

See also my notes on the new edition of the same translation of Bril's work, 1719 (243).

- 184 **Thomasius, Christian.** Einleitung zur Hof-Philosophie, oder, kurtzer Entwurf und die ersten Linien von der Klugheit zu bedencken und vernuenfftig zu schliessen. . . . Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Michael Ruediger, 1710. [11] l., 296, 47 p. 16 ½ cm.

Christian Thomasius (72) was among the few writers of his time who possessed a detailed knowledge of early Spinozists. Thus he is aware of Cuffeler, the au-thor of *Specimen artis ratiocinandi*, 1684 (50). Cuffeler is described as one among those who cover up their atheism by asserting that something may be true philosophically which has been proved wrong in theology (p. 143).

- 185 **Neuer Buecher-Saal der gelehrten Welt oder ausfuehrliche Nachrichten von allerhand neuen Buechern und andern zur heutigen Historie der Gelehrsamkeit gehoerigen Sachen.** Leipzig: Gleditsch und Weidmann, 1710–1717. 5 vols.; 60 issues, each preceded by a portrait. 16 ½ cm.

The *Neuer Buechersaal*, edited by Johann Gottlob Krause (1684–1736) and the philosopher Johann Georg Walch (1693–1775), is a scholarly journal devoted to the review of books and to scholarly news.

Reviews of books refuting Spinoza appear in vol. 2, p. 352; vol. 3, p. 165 and vol. 4, p. 718 f.

1711

- 186 **Andala, Ruardus.** Syntagma theologico-physico-metaphysicum, complectens Compendium theologiae naturalis; Paraphrasin in Principia philosophiae

Renati Des-Cartes; ut & Dissertationum philosophicarum heptada. Franecker: Wibius Bleck, 1711. [8] l., 224 p.; [2] l., 291, [1] p.; [2] l., 292 p. 19 ½ cm.

Ruardus Andala (1665–1727), professor of philosophy at the Dutch University of Franecker, was a Cartesian who, early in his career, sympathized with Geulincx, but then turned away from him because he came to consider him as a fore-runner of Spinoza. Andala denied the identity of the Cartesian and Spinozistic philosophies and refuted the view that Spinozism originated in Descartes.

The *Syntagma* comprises three of Andala's books. The first, *Compendium theologiae naturalis*, is prefaced by a poem by Cornelius Schellinger in which Andala is praised for having left behind "*Spinosas plagas*," the thorny realms (once again the old and common pun!). The book abounds with attacks on Spinoza (pp. 15, 55, 61 f., 67 f., 74 f., 77, 80, 86 and passim).

Equally critical are the philosophic dissertations forming the third part of *Syntagma* (pp. 134, 138 f., 185 ff., 192 f., 228 f., 255 f.).

- 187 **Bayle, Pierre.** Het leven van B. de Spinoza, met eenige aantekeningen over zyn bedryf, schriften, en gevoelens: door den Heere Bayle, leeraar der wysgeerte te Rotterdam. Nevens een kort betoog van de waarheit des christelyken godsdiensts; en twee verhandelingen, I. Van de ziel. II. Van Gods wezentlykheit. Door den Heere Jaquelot, leeraar der Fransche Kerke in's Gravenhage. Vertaald door F. Halma. De voorreden behelst eenige aanmerkingen tegens t' Levensvervolg van Philopater. Utrecht: Willem Broedelet, 1711. [95] l., 464 p., [8] l. 16 cm.

This edition is the one of 1698 (120) except for a new updated title page. Halma's Dutch translation of Bayle's biography of Spinoza certainly had been no bestseller!

- 188 **Berns, Michael.** Das natuerliche Licht des Verstandes in seinem centralischen Wesen und das in algebraischer und also nicht fehlender Arth auffgefuehret; auch sind zugleich die Irr-Lichter von denen phantastischen Pietisten, item der neuen Christen mit auffgestecket, und ist dargethan, wie dieser Hauffe durchhin Spinozistisch, und den groebsten Naturalismus und Atheismus profitieren, absonderlich aber ist des Roemelings Zerstoerung Babels nach dem Grunde der Natur wiederleget und sind dessen schaendliche Bloesse und Greuel entdeckt. Hamburg and Leipzig: Reumann, 1711. [3] l., 1 pl., 94, [1] p. 20 cm.

Michael Berns, whose anti-Spinozism shows in each of his rare books (118), attacks in this wild diatribe all forms of Christian religion except its orthodox Protestant interpretation. All others are branded in the vilest terms as naturalistic and Spinozistic. The Pietists are the favorite target of the author's

wrath. One chapter of the book discusses the Spinozistic interpretation of the "natural light of reason," another the Spinozistic concept of a "material God" and its similarity to the God of the "Fanatics" and the God of the "Algebraists" (second page of preface, pp. 2 f., 23, 32, 48, 59–62).

- 189 **Clarke, Samuel.** A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons preach'd at the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the year 1704, and 1705. at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle . . . The third edition, corrected. London: William Botham and James Knapton, 1711. [37] l., 142 p., [1] l., 351, [1] p. 19 cm.

In 1704 at St. Paul's, Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), English philosopher and theologian, gave the lectures established by Robert Boyle to confute atheism. Dealing with the being and attributes of God, Clarke devoted them to a refutation of Spinoza.

Representing "the most serious and capable polemic against Spinoza" in England at its time (Pollock), the book went through many editions (229, 297, 298, 356) and was translated into Latin (209), French (232) and other languages.

The preface contains Clarke's answer to Carroll's pamphlet, *Remarks upon Mr. Clarke's Sermons*, London, 1705 (151).

- 190 **Des Maizeaux, Pierre.** La vie de M^{re} Charles de Saint-Denis, Sieur de St. Evremond; Maréchal de camp des armées du Rois Très-Chrétien . . . Nouvelle edition, revuë, corrigée, & augmentée de plusieurs pieces qui n'ont point encor paru. The Hague: Abraham Troyel, 1711. [3] l., 363 p. 14 ½ cm.

A reprint of the edition of 1709 (175).

- 191 **Malebranche, Nicolas.** Entretiens sur la métaphysique, sur la religion, et sur la mort. Nouvelle edition, revuë, corrigée, & augmentée. Paris: Michel David, 1711. 2 vols. [30] l., 383 p.; [2] l., 422, [5] p. 16 cm.

Enlarged edition of the *Entretiens sur la metaphysique et sur la religion*, 1688 (70). The passages referring to Spinoza in this new ("the most exact") edition are found on pp. 310 and 338 ff.

- 192 **Pufendorf, Samuel.** Acht Buecher vom Natur-und Voelcker-Rechte, mit . . . ausserlesenen Anmerkungen erlaeutert, und in die Teutsche Sprach uebersezet. . . Frankfurt am Main: Friedrich Knoch, 1711. Portrait, [14] l., 1036, 1020 p., [59] l. 20 ½ cm.

German translation of Samuel Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium* (53).

The comments on the passages dealing with Spinoza, added in this edition (part [1], pp. 271 ff., 642, 645), are insignificant.

- 193 **Weisen**, Crispin. Des verkaptten und ertaptten Christiani Democriti eigentliches Contrafey, in befugter und gruendlicher Aufdeckung aller seiner zeit-hero heraus gegebenen verdammlichen Schriften, bey dem Lichte der goettlichen und historischen Wahrheit, jedermaenniglich zum Abscheu, gezeiget. . . . Dresden und Leipzig: Gottfried Lesch, 1711. [1] l., 254 p. 15 ½ cm.

Christianus Democritus was the pseudonym used by Johann Conrad Dippel (1673–1734) for most of his many writings. A German-born theologian, he turned to the study of pharmacy and medicine, became a physician in Amsterdam and Hamburg and an alchemistic practitioner in these and other cities. Often in conflict with the authorities, he once spent seven years in a Danish prison. His theological writings reveal him as a Pietist who, driven by an uncompromising anti-clericalism, approached positions of radical enlightenment. Irreverent as his writings are, they never completely abandon their pietistic foundations.

The first collection of Dippel's religious writings appeared in 1709 under the title *Eroeffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen*. Crispin Weisen's book is one of a vast number of attacks on Dippel which will not cease for many years. Weisen — who is he? a pseudonym? — denounces him as a freethinker and heretic. He compares his fatalism to that of the Dutch Spinozists, such as Pontianus von Hattem and Frederik van Leenhof (pp. 237 ff.). He censures Dippel for not having recognized while he lived in Amsterdam the stupid confusion of Willem Deurhof for which the Dutch translators of Descartes and Spinoza are to blame because they made it possible for simple people to have access to their worthless writings (pp. 183 ff.).

As a matter of fact, Dippel never was a follower of Spinoza; many of his writings (289, 304, 313, 320, 325, 326, 337) expressly denounce him.

1712

- 194 **Andala**, Ruardus. Dissertationum philosophicarum pentas. Cui adjecta est continuatio ephemeridum aeris atmosphaerici variationum a mense a. Julio. 1710 ad mensem Junium a. 1712. Franecker: Franciscus Halma, 1712. [10] l., 282 p., [5] l. 19 ½ cm.

The first four of the dissertations by Ruardus Andala (186) examine the notions of substance, creation, efficient cause, and the union of mind and body as defined by Leibnitz, Geulincx and Deurhof. Those of Geulincx and Deurhof are

discredited by showing their similarity to Spinoza's concepts (preface, pp. 9, 16, 19, 21 f., 37, 40 f., 48 f., 66 f., 70 f., 75, 85, 101, 135 ff., 153 ff.).

- 195 **[Arpe, Peter Friedrich]**. Apologia pro Jul. Caesare Vanino Neapolitano. Cosmopolis [Rotterdam]: Typis Philaetheis, 1712. [2] l., 108 p. 18 cm.

Peter Friedrich Arpe (1682–1717) was professor of law at the University of Kiel. Courageous enough to write a vindication of Vanini, the Italian freethinker who in 1619 was burned at the stake, he is equally daring in berating Christian Kortholt for attacking Spinoza, Hobbes and Herbert of Cherbury in his book, *De tribus impostoribus* (39, 139).

- 196 **Blackmore**, Richard. Creation. A philosophical poem. In seven books. . . . London: S. Buckley and J. Tonson, 1712. 52 p., [1] l., 359 p. 21 ½ cm.

Sir Richard Blackmore (c. 1650–1729), a physician in London and writer of verse, won great contemporary acclaim for this endless poem which aimed at presenting the philosophic views of Locke. "If he had written nothing else," wrote Addison, "[it would] have translated him to posterity as one of the first favourites of the English muse."

Both the preface (pp. xviii, xlv) and the poem (pp. 154–156) deal with Spinoza, "obscure, perplex, unintelligible author" and "his black design."

- 197 **Blackmore**, Richard. Creation. A philosophical poem. Demonstrating the existence and providence of God. In seven books. The second edition. . . . London: S. Buckley and J. Tonson, 1712. 52 p., [1] l., 359 p. 19 cm.

The second, more cheaply printed edition, of Blackmore's philosophical poem (196).

- 198 **Crousaz**, Jean Pierre de. Système de reflexions qui peuvent contribuer à la netteté & l'étendue de nos connoissances: ou Nouvel essai de logique. . . . Amsterdam: François L'Honoré, 1712. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [17] l., 376 p.; frontispiece, [3] l., 291 p. 16 ½ cm.

Jean Pierre de Crousaz (1663–1748), professor of mathematics and philosophy at Lausanne and Groningen, an eclectic popularizer, interspersed his *Logique* with many remarks on metaphysics and did not fail to point out his disdain for Spinoza and his followers (vol. 1, pp. 172 f., 374).

Crousaz also wrote a book, *An examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on man*, 1739 (369), to denounce Pope as a Spinozist. In his *Examen du Pyrrhonisme ancien et moderne*, 1733 (324), he accused Bayle of atheism and immoralism.

An enlarged second edition of the *Système* appeared in 1720 (249).

- 199 **Foertsch**, Michael. *Controversiarum sacrarum recentiorum et nobiliorum nucleus & illustramenta*. Jena: Christian Polius, (1712). 15 p., [4] l., 176 p., [5] l. 20 ½ cm.

This collection of academic theses and disputations by Michael Foertsch (1654–1724), Lutheran theologian and professor at Tuebingen and Jena, discusses Spinoza's theory of prophecy (pp.63–65); his views on divine inspiration (p.68); his theory of causality (pp.135 ff.); and Spinoza's concept of God and Nature (pp.152–159, 161–163).

- 200 **Oudaan**, Joachim. *Poezy verdeeld in drie deelen . . . Achter het derde deel komt het Leven van den dichter, beschreven door den Heer David van Hoogstraten*. Amsterdam: P. Arentz and K. vander Sys, 1712. 3 vols. [1] l., frontispiece, [6] l., 349, [3] p.; [1] l., 586 p. (vols. 2 and 3 have continuous pagination), 86 p., [2] l. 15 ½ cm.

The Dutch poet Joachim Oudaan (12), a member of the *Collegiant* sect, had contributed a poem to Adriaan Verwer's *t Mom-Aensicht der Atheistey*, a book denouncing Spinoza's *Ethica*, published in 1683 (47). The poem is contained in vol. 2, pp. 68 f. of this collection of Oudaan's poetic writings. It alludes to Spinoza's alleged, but never proven, homosexuality, and has been cited as evidence that during the French-Dutch war, after crossing the battle lines, Spinoza had travelled to Utrecht at the behest of the Prince of Condé.

Oudaan's biography by David van Hoogstraten in vol. 3 of *Poezy* speaks of the poet's father, Frans Joachim Oudaan, a *Collegiant*, and of other *Collegiants* of the circle to which Spinoza belonged during his stay in Rijnsburg.

Further references to Spinoza appear in vol. 1, p. 75 ("der doornige wysgerigheid") and vol. 2, p. 112.

- 201 **Pufendorf**, Samuel. *Le droit de la nature et des gens, ou systeme general des principes les plus importants de la morale, de la jurisprudence, et de la politique*. Traduit du latin . . . par Jean Barbeyrac . . . Avec des notes du traducteur . . . seconde edition, revûe & augmentée considerablement. Amsterdam: Pierre de Coup, 1712. 2 vols. Portrait, [1] l., 132 p., [2] l., 613 p.; [2] l., 506 p., [17] l., 28 p. 25 cm.

French translation by Jean Barbeyrac of Samuel Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium* of 1684 (53).

1713

- 202 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Meditationes sacrae seu prolusionum festarum decas*. Jena: Mueller, (1713). 118, [2] p. 18 ½ cm.

The *Meditationes* by Johannes Franz Budde (156) contain, pp. 26–38, an essay against Frederic van Leenhof, the Spinozist, written in 1707, *Temperamentum laetitiae ac tristitiae contra Fridericum van Leenhoff*, and from the year 1709, *Veritas resurrectionis Christi contra impias quorundam, speciatim Benedicti de Spinoza, obiectiones asserta* (pp. 47–56).

- 203 **[Fénelon]**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Demonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de la connoissance de la nature, & proportionnée à la foible intelligence des plus simples*. Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1713. [8] l., 314 p., [11] l. 16 cm.

François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651–1715), archbishop of Cambrai and the philosophical spokesman of the Church, was, of course, adamantly opposed to the teachings of Spinoza. The extract of his letter to Père Lami, the author of *Le nouvel athéisme*, 1696, appearing at the end of this book (114), testifies to his stand. But this first, or if one counts a surreptitious edition of 1712, this second, authorized edition of the *Démonstration*, does not contain any overt opposition to Spinoza. It was this neglect to refute the Spinozists which prompted Abbé René-Joseph Tournemine (1661–1739), famous Jesuit and editor of the *Mémoires de Trévoux* (a Jesuit periodical which had accused many a philosopher, among them Malebranche, of Spinozism) to write an anonymous preface (*Avertissement*) for the *Démonstration* and point out, after praising the author, that it had important "deficiencies." The *Démonstration* was written in the vein of Descartes and the Jesuits were afraid that the book would propagate the methods of Descartes, source of Spinoza, without mentioning the Spinozistic danger.

Fénelon, angered by the preface, asked for an apology and received one, of sorts, in November 1713. But after Fénelon's death, the preface by Père Tournemine, enlarged to a veritable refutation of Spinoza, appeared in many editions of the *Démonstration* (222, 254). Later a second part, containing a refutation of Spinoza, was added to form Fénelon's *Oeuvres philosophiques* (240, 254).

See also my notes on Fénelon, *Lettres*, 1718 (239).

- 204 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Demonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de la connoissance de la nature, & proportionnée à la foible intelligence des plus simples*. Amsterdam: François L'Honoré, 1713. [12] l., 279 p. 15 ½ cm.

Another issue, published in Amsterdam, of the 1713 edition of Fénelon's *Démonstration* (203).

- 205 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *A demonstration of the existence, wisdom and omnipotence of God, drawn from the knowledge of nature, par-*

ticularly of man, and fitted to the meanest capacity... translated from the French, by... (A[bel] Boyer). London: W. Taylor and J. Baker, 1713. [8] l., 233, [7] p. 17 ½ cm.

English translation of Fénelon's *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu*, 1713 (203).

- 206 **Hayyun**, Nehemiah Hiyya. להכיר [מהימנותא דכללא] להכיר. הבורא בדרך רחבה קצרה... Berlin: Baruch Buchbinder, 1713. [3], 4, 88 l. 18 ½ cm.

Nehemiah Hiyya Hayyun (1650–about 1730) was a bizarre figure in the history of Jewish thought. A native of Safed, Palestine, he became a cabalist and follower of Sabbatai Zevi, the self-proclaimed Jewish Messiah. Wandering through Europe, Hayyun spent time in Italy, Bohemia, Germany, Holland and Turkey, issuing abstruse writings, finding rabbinic sponsors and losing them when it became known that other rabbinic authorities considered him an impostor. He died in Africa destitute and without friends.

Hayyun's *Oz l'Elohim* (Power of God), the only document of Sabbatian Cabalism ever printed (Scholem), developed the idea of a Trinity, utterly heretical in Jewish theology. L. Rosenthal in Roest, *Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek*, 1875, states (no. 1502 of *Yodeah sefer*) that obviously Hayyun had read extensively in Spinoza's books and used their nonsense in his work. However, this is a very dubious assumption.

- 207 **Hecking**, Gottfried. *Exercitatio theologica de usu mysteriorum fidei in praxi vitae Christianae*. ... Jena: Mueller, 1713. [2] l., 44 p. 20 cm.

Hecking's dissertation, sponsored by Johannes Franz Budde (156), quotes Spinoza as an example of those modern, impious and profane thinkers who bitterly attack those who acknowledge mysteries in the Scriptures (p. 16).

- 208 **Loescher**, Valentin Ernst. *Praenotiones theologicae contra naturalistarum & fanaticorum omne genus, atheos, deistas, indifferentistas, anti-scripturarios, &c.* ... Editio secunda emendata & aucta. Wittenberg: Johann Ludwig Meisel, 1713. [8] l., 383, [12] p. 17 cm.

Valentin Ernst Loescher (1673–1749), professor at the university in Wittenberg and pastor in Dresden, was an orthodox Lutheran battling against Pietism and the philosophy of Christian Wolff. His refutation of the naturalists in general and of Spinoza in particular reveals considerably more philosophic understanding than his fellow-theologians show. He sees Spinoza's system in context, comes pleasantly close to an understanding of his adversary's motivation, and delineates correctly the positions of Spinoza's followers (pp. 12 ff., 30 ff., 37 f., 40 ff., 44, 47, 49 ff., 59, 63 f., 69, 73, 85, 89 ff., 98 ff., 103, 111, 115, 173, 212 ff., 225 ff., 307, 323, 342).

- 209 **[Philipps]**, Jenkin Thomas. *Historia atheismi, breviter delineata, a Jenkino Thomasio Cambro Britanno. Cui accedit Samuelis Clark tractatus eximius De existentia et attributis Dei, contra Spinosam atque Hobbesium, Anglice conscriptus, jam autem Latine redditus. Cum praefatione Christiani Gotlib Schwarzii*. ... Altdorf: Jod. Wilhelm Kohle, 1713. [5] l., 286 p., [2], [8] l., 174 p. 17 ½ cm.

Jenkin Thomasius is the pen name of Jenkin Thomas Philipps, an English linguist and translator (d. 1755). His history of atheism presents facts and evaluation in relatively objective fashion and thus his account of Spinoza's life and works (pp. 227–241) lacks the invective so common in the writings of his contemporaries. He also discusses Matthias Knutzen, the Spinozising atheist, and reprints one of his pamphlets (pp. 245–249); see my notes on Musaeus, *Ableinung*, 1674 (19).

The history of atheism is followed by a Latin translation of Samuel Clarke's *Demonstration of the being and attributes of God, more particularly in answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, and their followers* (189).

- 210 **Rencontre** de Bayle et de Spinoza dans l'autre monde. Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1713. 72 p. 13 ½ cm.

This little anonymous book whose author remains unknown is one of the strangest products of the Spinoza literature. Eighteenth century bibliographers already list it as *rarissimum*; in our days Vernière calls it *introuvable*. The Library of Congress possesses a copy printed in 1711. Printed under the cover of the Marteau imprint, the book has a political message. Its author is a pacifist. Spinoza and Bayle are dear to him because they are men of peace and both unite at the end of the book to praise Erasmus, preacher of peace.

In the first two *rencontres*, making up the larger part of the book, Spinoza and Bayle, souls in the other world who have shed their bodies and are therefore more enlightened than they were on earth, interview one another about their lives and their writings. Spinoza's autobiographical revelations are mostly a repetition of Colerus' account (157). When the facts differ it is because the author misread Colerus. The unprejudiced tolerance which he shows towards Spinoza and Bayle and his attempt to understand their teachings is genuine.

- 211 **Zweyer** guten Freunde vertrauter Brief-Wechsel vom Wesen der Seelen ... Sammt eines Anonymi lustigen Vorrede. The Hague: Peter von der Aa, [Leipzig or. Jena], 1713. 94 p. 16 ½ cm.

The authorship of this little rare book is not certain. According to Weller, *Woerterbuch der Pseudonymen*, its authors are J. C. Westphal (d. 1722), a physician at Delitzsch, and J. D. Hocheisel (or Hocheisen) (1677–1712), an adjunct

in philosophy at the university of Wittenberg. An old inscription in my copy ascribes the authorship to J. B. Roeschel (1652–1712), a German theologian and physicist, and Hocheisel. Others name the physician Urban Gottfried Bucher (b. 1679).

The *Brief-Wechsel* is an important document of early 18th century German materialism. It denies the existence of a non-material soul and explains rational knowledge and will as mere sensations. In this context Spinoza and Frederik van Leenhof, the Spinozist, are briefly discussed as representatives of materialistic atheism (pp. 42, 50, 76).

1714

- 212 **Bayle, Pierre.** *Lettres choisies de Mr. Bayle, avec des remarques.* Rotterdam: Fritsch et Boehm, 1714. 3 vols. 48, 966 p. (continual pagination), [150] l. 15 ½ cm.

The letters of Pierre Bayle offer not only interesting bibliographic data on Spinoza and literature dealing with him, they also present important information on Bayle's attitude towards Spinoza.

Bayle, especially on account of the Spinoza article in his *Dictionaire* (117, 120), had become part of the Spinoza controversy; thus the justification by Bayle of the stand he took and his kind of interpretation of Spinoza are particularly illuminating (vol. 2, pp. 779–785).

The index in vol. 3 provides under "Spinoza" a list of all pertinent references.

- 213 **Bril, Jacob.** *Die preiss-wuerdige Freyheit, worinnen kuertzlich angewiesen wird, dass die Freyheit, womit Gott durch seinen Sohn in dem Geiste frey machet diejenige, die sich der Leitung seines guten Geistes ueberlassen, nicht veraecht-lich, sondern lobwuerdig ist.* Vormals Anno 1699 von dem besondern Gottes-Gelehrten Jacob Brill in hollaendischer Sprache geschrieben, nun aber, dem unpartheyischen teutschen Leser zu Nutze, ins Hochteutsche uebersetzt durch L.O.S. Amsterdam: Hinrich Betkio, 1714. 72 p. 17 cm.

A German translation of *De pryswaardige vryheid*, 1699, by Jacob Bril (183). Bril's terminology and approach have no similarity whatever to Spinoza's *Ethica*, yet his concept of freedom is clearly derived from Spinoza.

- 214 **Bril, Jacob.** *Ein freyer Mensch und Geist, der wahrhaftig frey gemacht ist von dem Vater durch den Sohn in dem Geiste; kuertzlich fuergestellet in seinem Wandel durch die Wuesten dieser Welt, als unbekandt, und frembd seyend; doch unverdrossen seinen Weg beschleunigend nach dem ewigen Vaterlande . . .* Vormals Anno 1699, von dem besondern Gottes-Gelehrten Jacob Brill, in

hollaendischer Sprache geschrieben, nun aber, um seiner Nutzbarkeit willen, ins Hochteutsche uebersetzt durch L.O.S. Amsterdam: Hinrich Betkio, 1714. 32 p. 17 cm.

Another treatise on freedom (*Een vrij mensch*) by Jacob Bril (183, 213, 215).

The same book appeared in a different translation in 1715 (220).

- 215 **Bril, Jacob.** *Gruenendes Klee-blat aus J. Brills Schrifften; in sich haltend und darbietende Die Gemueths-Ruhe: Das liebliche und angenehme Leben: und Die preisswuerdige Freyheit: denen, die im neuen Leben des Geistes zu gruenen begehren, zur Erquickung und Aufmunterung mitgetheilet.* N.p., 1714. 160 p. 15 cm.

A German translation of three works, *De gemoedsrust*, *Het genoegelijk en vermakelijk leven*, and *De pryswaardige vryheid*, from the posthumous collection of Jacob Bril's works, published in Amsterdam, 1705 (183).

The translation of *Die preiss-wuerdige Freyheit* is different from that of the separate edition which appeared in the same year (213). Another edition of this entire collection appeared in 1724 (269).

- 216 **Regius, Johannes.** *De beginselen der beschouwende filozofy, uit de latynsche tale overgezet, en merkeiyk vermeerderd: waar by gevoegt zyn, I. Kartesius Spinoza voorlichtende, II. Den omgestooten ongodist. III. De reden in haar redelykheit.* Rotterdam: Reinier van Doesburg, 1714. [32] l., 462 p., [4] l. 20 cm.

Johannes Regius (1656–1738), professor of philosophy at the University of Franeker, was one of the main figures in the anti-Cartesian movement at that university. His principal theme, reiterated over and over again, was that Descartes was the forerunner of Spinoza and that all of Spinoza's ideas were contained in Descartes. This is the theme, too, of the addendum to the *Beginnelsen*, entitled "Kartesius Spinoza voorlichtende, etc.," that is, "Cartesius carrying the light for Spinoza, or, A short treatise, presenting through unshakeable arguments that the philosophy of Cartesius has hidden in it the grounds on which that of Spinoza is built" (pp. 321–353). This is followed, pp. 355–384, by "Den omgestooten ongodist," etc., that is, "The overthrown atheist or clear proof that the godless system of Spinoza rests on only two false premises and that once these are taken away it must collapse by itself." See also the second to last page of the *Voorrede* where Regius declares that the disciples of Cartesian professors are bound to become Spinozists.

"Kartesius Spinoza voorlichtende" led to a drawn-out hard-hitting controversy. Ruardus Andala (186), a colleague of Regius at the University of Franeker, but a Cartesian who denied any essential similarity between Descartes and

Spinoza, attacked Regius' treatise in his *Alloquium*, 1719; Regius in the same year elaborated on it in *Cartesius versus Spinozismi architectus*; Andala came back with *Disputatio physica qua representatur Cartesius versus Spinozismi eversor* in 1719; and after Regius published a new edition of his *Cartesius versus Spinozismi architectus* in 1723, Andala responded in 1724 with his *Thrasonismus depulsus et retortus*.

Because of the rarity of all these books and due to the fact that early writers sometimes confused Regius with other writers by this or similar names, reports on the controversy are usually faulty.

- 217 **St. Evremond**, Charles de. The works of Monsieur de St. Evremond, made English from the French original. With The author's life, by Mr. Des Maizeaux. To which are added, The memoirs of the Dutchess of Mazarin, written in her name by the Abbot St. Real, &c. London: J. Churchill, etc., 1714. 3 vols. Portrait, 64 p., [2] l., 368 p.; portrait, [1] l., 451, 7 p.; frontispiece, [2] l., 156 p., portrait, 208 p. 19 ½ cm.

The first English edition of St. Evremond's works; see my notes on Des Maizeaux, *La vie de St. Evremond*, 1709 (175).

The account of the meeting between Spinoza and St. Evremond is found in *The life of Monsieur de St. Evremond*, p. LV (contained, with separate title page, in vol. 3); mention of Spinoza is made by St. Evremond, vol. 2, pp. 122 f.

See also my notes on edition of 1728 (302).

- 218 **Tuinman**, Carolus. De heillooze gruwelleere der vrygeesten; in haar grond en tzamenschakeling, uit derzelver schriften aangewezen, ont-maskert, en wederlegt . . . Hier by is een Wederandwoord op den lasterbrief van den vermomden Theophilus, enz. En noch de uitspraak des E. Kerkenraads van Middelburg, over M. Booms. Een plakaat van hun Ed. Mog. de Heeren Staaten van Zeeland, betreffende de vrygeesten, en derzelver boeken. Het vonnis door der Ed. Achtb. Magistraat van Middelburg over verscheide zulker boeken gevelt, en uitgevoerd. Middelburg: Willeboord Eling, 1714. [8], (240) p. 15 cm.

Carolus Tuinman (1659–1728), a preacher, poet and linguist in Middelburg, Holland, made it his specialty to write books and pamphlets against the Hattemists, a Dutch Spinozistic sect. The first part of *De heillooze gruwelleere* attacks recent and contemporary Spinozists, the leader of the sect, Pontiaan van Hattem (112), and Jacob Brill (183), and Frederik van Leenhof (159). Tuinman lists those tenets of Spinoza which the Hattemists had adopted (pp. 3–92), then proceeds to refute their specific borrowings and adaptations (pp. 92–108), and finishes with a general refutation of Spinoza (pp. 109 ff.). The *Wederandwoord* (pp. 135–214) is Tuinman's rebuttal of an anonymous work,

Brief van Theophilus, published in 1713, which had defended van Hattem and Gosuinus van Buitendijk (256) against their condemnation by the church and civil authorities. Tuinman shows in quote after quote from Spinoza's works that these men as well as Marinus Booms, another Hattemist, are Spinozists. *De heillooze gruwelleere* concludes (pp. 215–240) with reprints of the excommunication by the church council of Middelburg of Booms, who was found guilty of "horrible Spinozistic and Hattemistic errors," an ordinance of the States of Zeeland, and an order by the magistrate of Middelburg concerning the burning of the heretic books "filled with sacrilegious opinions of the current Spinozists."

- 219 **Schudt**, Johann Jacob. Juedische Merckwuerdigkeiten vorstellende was sich Curieuses und Denckwuerdiges in den neuern Zeiten bey einigen Jahrhunderten mit denen in alle iv. Theile der Welt, sonderlich durch Teutschland, zerstreuten Juden zugetragen. Samt einer vollstaendigen Franckfurter Juden-Chronick. . . . Frankfurt und Leipzig: Samuel Tobias Hocker, etc., 1714–1718. 4 vols. Portrait, [11] l., 582 p., [1] l.; [4] l., 432, 383, [59] p.; [4] l., 358, [1] p.; [16] l., 320, 447, [1], 192 p., [19] l., 48, [1] p.; plates. 20 ½ cm.

Johann Jacob Schudt (1664–1722), rector of the Gymnasium in Frankfurt-on-Main, Germany, showed a life-long interest in and wrote extensively about the history and language of the Jews. Though anti-Semitic and motivated by missionary zeal, he collected valuable materials, particularly on the history of the Frankfurt Jews.

In the chapter on the Jews of Amsterdam, Schudt summarizes what he could find about Spinoza in older literature (vol. 1, pp. 313–315) and supplements this report with an account, quoted on the authority of a professor in Wittenberg, of a visit by Spinoza to a Christian church (vol. 2, second part, p. 95).

1715

- 220 **Bril**, Jacob. Ein freyer Mensch im Geist, der warhafftig frey gemacht ist von dem Vater, durch den Sohn, in dem Geist, in seinem Wandel durch die Wuesten dieser Welt, als der da unbekandt und fremd ist, doch unverdruesslich seinen Weg eilends fortsetzet nach dem ewigen Vatterland, . . . den 30. Oct. ao. 1699. in Niederlaendischer Sprache geschrieben von Jacob Brill, nun aber ins Hochteutsche uebersetzt, und mit einer kurtzen Vorrede zum Drucke befoerdert, welchem auch dessen Glaubens-Bekaenntnuess, das eine gruendliche Anweisung zur Uebung in der Selbst-Erkaenntniss giebt, nochmahls mit beygefueget ist. N. p., 1715. 88 p. 18 ½ cm.

Another German translation of *Een vrij mensch*, a treatise on freedom by Jacob Bril (183) different from the one which appeared in 1714 (214).

Added in this edition is a translation of Bril's *Credo (Geloofs bekentenis)* (pp. 37–88) based on a concept of God “who is All in All in Himself.”

- 221 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Dissertationum theologiarum syntagma accedunt praeter alia, orationes quaedam, atque programmata*. Jena: Johannes Felix Bielke, 1715. [18] l., 753, [23] p. 20 cm.

In his “program,” *De origine gentis ebraeae contra Ioan. Tolandum*, Budde (156) polemizes against John Toland's theory, propounded in his *Origines judaicae* appended to *Adeisidaemon*, 1709 (178), that Moses was a Spinozist (pp. 716 ff.).

- 222 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de la connoissance de la nature, & proportionnée à la faible intelligence des plus simples . . . Quatrième édition*. Amsterdam: L'Honoré & Chatelain, 1715. 40 p. (including portrait), [4] l., 291, [12] p. 16 cm.

This fourth edition of Fénelon's *Démonstration* is the first to contain (pp. v–xl) the expanded preface by Père Tournemine, the Jesuit, whose influential order felt that the book was too gentle on the question of Cartesianism and, implicitly, Spinozism and that it therefore required an unequivocal expression of where the Church stood. Tournemine, who had provided a rather vague clarification in 1713 while Fénelon was still alive (203), went to work immediately upon Fénelon's death in 1715 and spelled out why the teachings of Descartes and Spinoza were unacceptable.

His preface, which was to accompany all future editions of the *Démonstration*, states that from Fénelon's presentation it should not be concluded that he was a follower of Descartes. Tournemine asserts that Spinoza's system follows from the arguments of Descartes and his concepts of necessity and causality present a direct denial of providence.

- 223 [**Flournois**, Gédéon]. *Les entretiens des voyageurs sur la mer*. Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1715. 4 vols. 352 p.; 472 p.; 335 p.; 324 p.; engravings. 15 ½ cm.

Gédéon Flournois, a Reformed clergyman of Geneva, Switzerland (who died in the early 18th century), wrote the *Entretiens* in 1682. The work was first published in 1683. An unknown editor corrected and augmented it to four volumes in 1704; the edition of 1715 is based on the second edition.

The book consists of twenty-four discussions on philosophy and religious matters held by a group of people during a sea voyage. It contains accounts of the abuses of power committed by the Jesuits in connection with the revocation of the edict of Nantes and is generally in text and pictures strongly

anti-clerical. It deals with the persecution in France of books and the futility of burning them and was itself condemned and forbidden. Flournois laments the prohibition of books by Protestants while many individuals owned books by Spinoza and were not bothered or prosecuted by the authorities (vol. 1, pp. 15–16).

- 224 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *Theologia christiana ad praxin pietatis ac promotionem pacis christianae unice directa*. Editio quarta, ab auctore recognita & aucta. Accedit novae huic editioni Relatio historica de origine & progressu contro-versiarum in Foederatio Belgio de praedestinatione. Tractatus postumus. Amsterdam: Rodolph & Gerhard Wetsteen, 1715. Portrait, [14] l., 866, 31, [24] p. 32 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of this work, 1686 (64), and on Limborch's *Defensio contra Ioannis van der Wayen*, 1699 (124).

Jean Le Clerc's funeral oration on the author with which this edition opens (pp. 94 f.) records the controversy which arose from Limborch's assertion that Franz Burmann had copied from Spinoza (7, 64).

- 225 **Aemilius**, Robbertus. *Het licht der waerheit, doorstraelende in de leere der Hervormde Kerke, in tegenstellinge van de duisternisse der onweetenheit en dwaelingen der geen die buiten dezelve zyn. Voorgesteld ende beweert uit Godts woort, en de gezonde reden, tot bevesting van het allerheiligste geloof*. (Alsmede een Kort ontwerp van het zelve.) Leiden: Hendrik van Damme, 1722; 1715 (vol. 2), 1716 (vols. 3 and [4]); 1720 (Kort ontwerp). 5 vols. [1] l., frontispiece, [22] l., 634 p.; [3] l., 47 p.; frontispiece, [2] l., 640 p.; [2] l., 38 p.; frontispiece, [11] l., p. 1–612, [1] l., 40 p.; [1] l., p. 613–1244, 46 p.; frontispiece, [11] l., 560 p. 15 ½ cm.

Robbertus Aemilius (1663–1729), a theologian in Leiden who was strongly influenced by Christoph Wittich, the Cartesian, produced these laborious, catechism-like volumes to contrast the teachings of the Reformed Church and the principal current heresies. Spinoza's main doctrines are routinely listed and rejected (vol. 1, pp. 30–40, 360–363; vol. 2, pp. 31–48, 366; Kort ontwerp p. 99).

- 226 **Loescher**, Valentin Ernst. *Theologische Annales, das erste Decennium des 18. Seculi* (vol. [2]: das andere Decennium des xviii. Seculi), oder Begriff der Unschuldigen Nachrichten von theologischen Sachen von Anno 1701. biss 1710. (vol. [2]: 1711. bis 1720.) nebst darzu gehoerigen Supplementis, Vertheidigung und Verbesserungen . . . der Unschuldigen Nachrichten. . . . Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Braun, 1715–1725. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [15] l., 919 p.; frontispiece, [3] l., 760 p. 16 ½ cm.

Valentin Ernst Loescher (208) was the editor of *Unschuldige Nachrichten von theologischen Sachen*, a periodical critically reviewing theological and philosophic books, particularly atheistic and naturalistic literature. The *Annales* summarize the contents of the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, supplement it with new reviews and defend it against its detractors. It refers to contemporary Spinozistic movements and literature (vol. [1], pp. 146, 191, 313, 605 f., 626 f., 653; vol. [2], p. 669, 677).

- 227 **Gundling**, Nicolaus Hieronymus. *Gundlingiana*, darinnen allerhand zur Jurisprudenz, Philosophie, Historie, Critic, Litteratur, und uebrigen Gelehrsamkeit gehoerige Sachen abgehandelt werden. Halle: Rengerische Buchhandlung, 1715–1732. 45 parts (part 1 with portrait). 17 cm.

Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling (1671–1729) was professor of philosophy and natural and international law at the University of Halle and, in the tradition of his teacher, Christian Thomasius, was a journalistically inclined popularizer. His eclectic character is apparent in his *Gundlingiana*, a collection of his treatises and book reviews in many fields which appeared irregularly over seventeen years.

Part 5, 1716, “Ob wegen der anwachsenden Macht der Nachbarn man den Degen entbloessen koenne?” contains a discussion of Spinoza’s concept of *af-fectus fortior* (pp. 391 ff.).

Part 15, 1717, “Gedancken ueber Parmenidis Philosophie” finds Parmenides’ and Spinoza’s concepts of God similar (pp. 405 ff.).

Part 22, 1719, “Erste Reflexion ueber Herrn D. Trillers Hippocratem atheismi falso accusatum” defends Gundling’s assertion that Hippocrates was an atheist and discusses in this connection Spinoza’s atheism (pp. 89 f., 102–105, 112, 167, 185).

Part 23, 1719, “Andere Reflexion ueber Herrn D. Trillers Hippocratem atheismi falso accusatum” quotes Triller, who holds that Spinoza is no real atheist (pp. 241 ff., see also p. 259).

Three essays on Plato’s atheism compare it with that of Spinoza: part 32, 1724, “Von Platonis Atheisterey” (pp. 108 f.); part 43, 1729, “Velitatio prior de atheismo Platonis cui occasionem dedit J. Zimmermannus” (pp. 189 ff., 213, 217, 222, 230 f., 234–260, 268 ff., 279 f.); part 44, 1729, “Velitatio posterior de atheismo Platonis” (pp. 316, 324 ff., 354, 357–361).

- 228 **Wolf**, Johann Christoph. *Bibliotheca hebraea, sive notitia tum auctorum hebr. cujuscunque aetatis, tum scriptorum, quae vel hebraice primum exarata vel ab aliis conversa sunt, ad nostram aetatem deducta. Accedit in calce Jacobi Gaffarelli Index codicum cabalist. mss. quibus Jo. Picus, Mirandulanus Comes,*

usus est. (Vol. 2: . . . quae praeter historiam Scripturae Sacrae veteris instrumenti, codicumque eius tum editorum tum mss. tradit notitiam Masorae, eorumque, quae ad lexica et grammaticas pertinent, Talmudis item utriusque, tum vero bibliothecam iudaicam et antiudaicam aperit, ac post enarratas paraphrases chaldaicas et cabbalam, scripta Judaeorum anonyma recenset. Vol. 3: . . . complectens accessiones et emendationes, ad volumen primum totum, et partem secundi, quoad de scriptis anonymis exponit, pertinentes . . . Vol. 4: . . . complectens accessiones et emendationes imprimis ad volumen secundum tum vero ad totum opus pertinentes una cum indicibus auctorum et rerum . . .) Hamburg & Leipzig: Christian Liebezeit (vol. 1); Hamburg: Theodor Christoph Felginer (vols. 2–4), 1715–1733. 4 vols. Frontispiece, [3] l., 1161, 36, 24 p.; portrait, [5] l., 1484 p.; [4] l., 1226 p., [30] l.; portrait, [6] l., 1226 p., [36] l. 20 ½ cm.

Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739), orientalist and bibliographer in Hamburg, had originally planned the *Bibliotheca hebraea* merely as a supplement to Bartolucci’s *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica*. However, since he had access to David Oppenheimer’s vast collection of Hebrew books and manuscripts (now in the Bodleian Library), it grew into a monumental, richly annotated bibliography of Hebrew and related books, an indispensable tool for Hebraic and Judaic scholarship until the middle of the 19th century when Moritz Steinschneider’s catalogues appeared.

Spinoza’s works and Spinoza literature, printed and in manuscript, are recorded in vol. 1, pp. 239–242, vol. 3, pp. 145 f., and vol. 4, pp. 795–797; the question of whether the Cabalists are atheists and Spinozists is discussed in vol. 2, pp. 1235 f.

1716

- 229 **Clarke**, Samuel. A discourse concerning being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons preach’d at the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the years 1704 and 1705, at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle . . . The fourth edition, corrected. There are added in this edition, Several letters to Dr Clarke from a gentleman in Gloucestershire [J. Butler], relating to the first volume; with the Drs answers. London: James Knapton, 1716. [16] l., 135 p., [12] l., 344, 42 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1711 (189). The addition, *Several letters*, is the second edition (of 1719) of that collection.

- 230 **Fabricius**, Johann Albert. *Bibliographia antiquaria, sive Introductio in notitiam scriptorum, qui antiquitates hebraicas, graecas, romanas et christianas scriptis illustraverunt*. Editio secunda, auctior. . . Hamburg und Leipzig: Christian Liebbezeit, 1716. Frontispiece, [7] l., 664 p., [32] l. 20 1/2 cm.

Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736), a German classical scholar, was one of the most productive bibliographers of his time; he is credited with more than one hundred books. The *Bibliographia antiquaria*, pp. 236 f., deals with Spinoza as an example of a philosopher who confused God with the nature of things.

1717

- 231 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Theses theologicae de atheismo et superstitione variis observationibus illustratae et in usum recitationum academicarum editae*. Jena: Johann Felix Bielck, 1717. [24] l., 816 p., [32] l. 17 cm.

Johannes Franz Budde (156) relies in his discussion of Spinoza in this history of atheism mainly on Poiret, Bayle and Kortholt. Once more he takes up the subject of Spinozism before Spinoza (pp. 12–16) to which he had devoted a special dissertation in the *Analecta* (156); Spinoza himself is discussed on pp. 163–179 as *atheorum nostra aetate princeps*; and Spinozism on pp. 495–510.

- 232 **Clarke**, Samuel. *De l'existence et des attributs de Dieu des devoirs de la religion naturelle, et de la verité de la religion chrétienne. Traitez qui sont le précis de xvi. sermons prononcez à Londres pour la lecture fondée par M. Boyle . . . Traduits de l'Anglois par M. Ricotier*. Amsterdam: Jean Frederic Bernard, 1717. 2 vols. 32 p., [12] l., 251 p.; [8] l., 424 p. 15 cm.

French translation of Samuel Clarke's *A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God* (189).

The French translation also includes the translation of an exchange of letters between the author and an anonymous critic, J. Butler (229).

- 233 **[Durand, David]**. *La vie et les sentimens de Lucilio Vanini*. Rotterdam: Aux dépens de Gaspar Fritsch, 1717. 32, 260 p., [3] l. 15 1/2 cm.

David Durand (1680–1763), French protestant minister, became a refugee, served in the Spanish war, narrowly escaped death and made his way to Rotterdam. There he became a friend of Bayle. Later he served as minister of the French church in London.

This biography of Lucilio Vanini, the Italian freethinker who was burned at the stake, serves a twofold purpose. It attempts to exonerate Durand as well as his subject from the accusation of heresy. According to Durand, Vanini is

related to Spinoza: both are unintelligible (p. 79); Vanini treats the problem of the origin of evil like Spinoza (summary of chapter xxix in table of contents); his materialism is Spinozistic (pp. 120 f.); Spinoza who liked to pass for a Cartesian (p. 176) used Vanini as a source.

- 234 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. *Het regt gebruik der werelt beschouwingen, ter overtuiging van ongodisten en ongelovigen aangetoont . . . Den tweeden druk*. Amsterdam: Wed. J. Wolters, en J. Pauli, 1717. [1] l., frontispiece, [1] l., portrait, [5] l., 916 p., [9] l. 28 plates. 24 1/2 cm.

Bernard Nieuwentyt (1654–1700), Dutch physician, mathematician and natural scientist, designed his work, which is important also for its physical, chemical and medical presentations, as a demonstration for skeptics and atheists that the teleological perfection of the world is irrefutable proof of God. The *Voor-berigt*, pp. 6 f., contains a report on the peaceful death of Spinoza and the concern this fact caused some pious people. A refutation of Spinoza's system appears on pp. 9 f.

Nieuwentyt is also the author of a book entirely devoted to a refutation of Spinoza's method and system, entitled *Gronden van zekerheid*, 1720 (250).

- 235 **Pufendorf**, Samuel. *Of the law of nature and nations . . . Written in Latin . . . Done into English by Basil Kennet . . . The third edition: carefully corrected . . . To which are now added all the large notes of Mr. Barbeyrac, translated from his last edition; printed at Amsterdam, in 1712. London: Printed for R. Sare, R. Bonwicke, etc., 1717. [12] l., 212, 577, [131] p., [11] l. 34 cm.*

English translation of Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium* (53).

- 236 **Reimann**, Jacob Friderich. *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historie der Theologie insgemein und der juedischen Theologie insbesondere; nahmentlich der juedischen theologiae theticae, polemicae, metaphrasticae, exegeticae, homileticae, ethicae, asceticae, liturgicae, masorethicae, talmudicae, cabalisticae, karaiticae, samaritanae, atheisticae. . . Magdeburg und Leipzig: Christoph Seidel, 1717. Frontispiece, [12] l., 807, [79] p. 17 cm.*

Jacob Friderich Reimann (1668–1743) combines in his books the knowledge of the polyhistor with the narrow-minded prejudices of the orthodox pastor. The history of Jewish atheism, contained in his *Versuch* (pp. 567 ff.), deals in detail with Spinoza and his "cabalistic atheism" (pp. 632–648), asserts that modern Jews are Spinozists (pp. 648 ff.) and that the Jewish Cabala is Spinozistic and atheistic (pp. 604 ff., 628 ff.). For other, more casual, mentions of Spinoza see *Index authorum*.

1718

- 237 **Blackmore**, Richard. *Creation*, A philosophical poem, demonstrating the existence and providence of a God... The fourth edition. . . . London: A. Bettesworth and J. Pemberton, 1718. [1] l., 66 p., [2] l., 237, [3] p. 14 cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1712 (196).

- 238 **C[olliber]**, S[amuel]. An impartial enquiry into the existence of nature and God: being a modest essay towards a more intelligible account of the divine perfections. With remarks on several authors both ancient and modern; and particularly on some passages in Dr. Clarke's *Demonstration of the being and attributes of God*. . . . With an appendix concerning the nature of space and duration. London: Printed; and sold by the booksellers, 1718. 230 p. 17 cm.

Nothing biographical is known about Samuel Colliber, who alludes to himself in the preface of this book as a layman, except the titles of his writings. He is the author of a naval history and of what the *English Dictionary of National Biography* calls "pantheistic tracts" (*Free thoughts concerning souls*, 1734; and *The known God, or the author of Nature unveiled*, 1737).

The *Impartial enquiry*, however, is not a pantheistic book, quite the contrary. Robert Boyle and Samuel Clarke are mentioned with approval and Spinoza's amply cited views (pp. 72 f., 84 f., 134 f., 153, 156, 168, 179, 198 f., 202, 218) are consistently disproved though never viciously attacked.

- 239 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Lettres sur divers sujets concernant la religion et la métaphysique*. Paris: Florentin Delaulne, 1718. [12] l., 278 p. 16 ½ cm.

These letters, or rather letter essays, by Fénelon (203) were published posthumously by his nephew. In the first letter, referring to a preface he had not yet seen (the one to his *Démonstration* by Abbé Tournemine), Fénelon asserts that it is not difficult to overthrow Spinoza's system. His followers are liars, not philosophers; the libertines of the age are not truly disciples of Spinoza, but men who relate their concept of free will to the principle of pleasure (pp. 3–6).

- 240 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Oeuvres philosophiques*. Seconde partie: *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, et de ses attributs, tirée des preuves purement intellectuelles, et de l'idée de l'infini même*. . . . Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1718. [5] l., p. [5]–210, [4] l. 15 ½ cm.

This second part of Fénelon's *Démonstration* — such is the designation of the volume on the half title — was in no way designed by the author as a contin-

uation or conclusion of his book published in 1713 (203). Since many of his *confreeres* in the Church were not satisfied with its less than forceful stand against Spinozism and other deviations from the Catholic dogma, this second volume — which, according to André-Michel de Ramsay's (264) anonymous preface is an outline of a work which Fénelon had undertaken in his youth and never completed — was added after the author's death. Its second chapter (pp. 92–210) is called "Refutation of Spinozism;" it is interesting, however, to note that Spinoza's name is never mentioned.

See also my notes on Fénelon, *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 1721 (254).

- 241 **Leibnitz**, Gottfried Wilhelm. *Otium Hanoveranum sive Miscellanea, ex ore & schedis illustris viri, pia memoriae, Godofr. Guilielmi Leibnitii*. . . . quondam notata & descripta, cum ipsi in colligendis & excerpendis rebus ad historiam Brunsvicensis pertinentibus operam navaret, Joachimus Fridericus Fellerus . . . Additae sunt coronidis loco epistolae gallicae amoebae Leibnitii & Pelissonii de tolerantia religionum & de controversiis quibusdam theologicis, jam pridem editae, nunc recusae. Quibus praemisum est supplementum vitae Leibnitianae. Leipzig: Johannes Christian Martin, 1718. Portrait, [14] l., 441, [24] p. 16 ½ cm.

Otium Hanoveranum contains miscellaneous writings by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646–1716), the German philosopher and diplomat, and views on various subjects which Joachim Friedrich Feller, who had been Leibnitz's secretary from 1696 to 1698, had heard from him. Among them is a description of Spinoza's Spanish looks and his occupation as lens grinder (pp. 221 ff.); a note on Spinoza's noble reasons for burning some of his uncompleted writings (p. 178); and Leibnitz's letter to Nicaise referring to the relation between Spinoza and Descartes (pp. 82 ff.).

- 242 **Grapo** [Grapius], Zacharias. *Theologia recens controversa*. Prout ab ipso b. auctore iam ante in iv. partes divisa fuit, in inchoatam, continuatam, absolutam et christologiam. Editio novissima. . . . Leipzig und Rostock: Johannes Bernhard Hartung, 1719 (parts 1, 2 and 3); 1718 (part 4). 4 vols. [1] l., 190 p.; [1] l., 206 p.; [1] l., 126 p.; [1] l., 64 p., [14] l. 20 ½ cm.

Zacharias Grapo (Grapius) (1671–1713), professor of theology at Rostock, provides in this collection of his academic disputations a wealth of information on philosophic and theological controversies of the time involving Spinoza's and his followers' teachings. Prominently discussed are such concepts of Spinoza as God as substance and immanent cause (part 1, pp. 50–62); God as the *ineffabile* (pp. 62 f.); God as *cogitatio* and *extensio* (pp. 66–73); *creatio ex nihilo* (part 2, pp. 9–15); providence (pp. 34–39); miracles (pp. 56–58); angels (pp. 65 f.); faith and love (part 3, p. 107); resurrection (part 4, pp. 63 f.).

1719

- 243 **Bril**, Jacob. Der Weg des Friedens, wie auch Das freye Leben, und Die freye Dienstbarkeit, in dreyen besonderen Tractaetlein angewiesen . . . Aus dem Niederlaendischen ins Teutsche uebersetzt. N. p., 1719. [2] l., 348 p. 16 ½ cm.

A collection of German translations of three treatises by Jacob Bril (183), namely *De weg des vredes*, *He vrije leven*, and *De pryswaardige vryheid*. The translation of the first treatise is identical with that appended to the *Theosophia pneumatika*, 1710 (183).

Bril's publications were prohibited literature (259); in my copy the name of the author was concealed by pasting a strip of black paper over it.

- 244 **Caspari**, Johann Michael. Universalista in theologia naturali planeta, fide vanus, cultu profanus, cujus Meditationes, de Deo, mundo, homine. Scrutinio logico-theologico expensas, sub praesidio Dn. Io. Conradi Arnoldi, Philos. & Ss. Theol. Doct. primae vero & rationalis Philosophiae Prof. P. Ord. solenni disquisitioni academicae porro examinandas proponit, Ioan. Michael Caspari. Giessen: Johann Mueller, (1719). [4] l., 52 p. 19 cm.

This dissertation by Johannes Michael Caspari, presented under the auspices of Johann Conrad Arnold, professor of philosophy at the University of Giessen, presents a detailed analysis of Theodor Ludwig Lau's *Meditationes philosophicae de Deo, mundo et homine*, anonymously published in 1717 (246, 602).

Caspari strongly stresses that Lau's God is the "En Spinozismum," the pantheistic unity of God and world as one substance.

- 245 **Hollebeek**, Petrus. Disputatio metaphysica de cogitatione, ipsa mente. Quam . . . sub praesidio . . . Jacobi Wittichii . . . publico examini subjicit Petrus Hollebeek, . . . auctor. . . Leiden: Peter vander Aa, 1719. [2] l., 19, [3] p. 18 cm.

Jacob Wittich, who was often confused with his uncle, Christoph Wittich, the author of *Anti-Spinoza*, 1690 (83), had written in 1711 a dissertation *De natura Dei contra Spinozam* which his adversaries had denounced as Spinozistic. The dissertation of his student, Petrus Hollebeek, refers in the concluding Dutch poem to Wittich's *De natura Dei* and the controversy following it and pictures Wittich as opposed to the horrible teachings of the Spinozists.

- 246 **Nachricht** von Franckfurth am Mayn vom 30. Maji 1719. Wegen des autoris der Meditationum de Deo mundo & homine. (Frankfurt, 1719). 4 p. 20 ½ cm.

The author of *Meditationes philosophicae de Deo, mundo, homine* with whom this little anonymous pamphlet, a kind of news-letter, deals is Theodor Ludwig

Lau (1670–1740). Lau was a German cameralist of original thought. He lived for a time in Frankfurt where he published, in 1717, some of his economic works as well as the *Meditationes* (602). The latter was confiscated by the city council as atheistic and its author banned from the city. Contemporary writers supported the authorities by declaring the pamphlet a Spinozistic writing; so did, for example, Johannes Michael Caspari, *Universalista in theologia naturali planeta*, 1719 (244) and Christian Thomasius, *Ernsthafte . . . Gedancken u. Erinnerungen*, 1720 (252). This could not have come as a surprise to the author who in the preface to the *Meditationes* foresaw that he would be denounced as a Spinozist. Lau, however, did not give up. In 1719 he published under a spurious imprint *Meditationes, theses dubia philosophico-theologica placidae eruditorum disquisitio religionis cuiusvis et nationis in magno mundi auditorio submissa a veritatis eclecticae amico*, for all practical purposes a re-issue and elaboration of the earlier *Meditationes*. The *Nachricht* relates that Lau then had the temerity to reappear in Frankfurt. It goes on to say that because he offended the city authorities and clergy he was arrested. While in jail the devil seized him; in desperation Lau cut the veins of both his arms, was found near death and when revived confessed his errors to a clergyman and asked for holy communion which was not granted to him.

I do not find any mention of this incident in the biographical accounts of Lau, contemporary or modern. They report that Lau revoked his heretic opinions in 1729.

1720

- 247 **An Account** of the life and writings of Spinoza. To which is added, Abstract of his Theological political treatise. Containing I. His discourses of prophecy. II. Of prophets. III. Of the gift of prophecy to other nations as well as the Jewish. IV. Of ceremonies. V. Of miracles. VI. Of the dependency of religion, and all things relating to it, on the civil magistrate. VI. [sic] Of the liberty of thinking and speaking. London: W. Boreham, 1720. [2] l., 96 p. 17 ½ cm.

The unknown author explains that he added an account of Spinoza's writings and "an abstract of his most famous treatise" to the biography of Spinoza "to prevent . . . the belief that heresy is ever the less pernicious for being attended with humanity and goodness." He further declares that he did not think of adding any remarks of his own since the absurdity of Spinoza's philosophy had already been sufficiently demonstrated by eminent writers.

This explanation does not appear very convincing if one notes, as Charles Singer, the previous owner of my copy of this little rare booklet, did, that the imprint is spurious and that most probably the book was printed surreptitiously like other anti-religious literature of the time.

Altogether the author, or rather compiler, did not put too much work into the preparation of the booklet. This *Account of the life and writings of Spinoza* is a shortened verbatim version of the English translation of Colerus' *Life* of 1706 (158); the *Abstract* a summary picking paragraphs from the English translation of 1689 (690).

- 248 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Introductio ad historiam philosophiae Ebraeorum*. Accedit dissertatio de haeresi Valentiniana. Editio nova eaque multis accessio-nibus auctior. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1720. [14] l., 736 p., [10] l. Plates. 17 cm.

This history of Jewish philosophy by Johannes Franz Budde (156) deals mostly with the Cabala and Christian literature related to it. The thesis presented by Johann Georg Wachter's *Der Spinozismus im Juedenthumb*, 1699 (129), that the Cabala is the Jewish philosophy and that Spinoza adopted it, is investigated extensively (pp. 388–391, 399 f., 445–447, 539–541; see also pp. 45 and 507).

- 249 **Crousaz**, Jean Pierre de. *La logique, ou systeme de reflexions, qui peuvent contribuer à la netteté & à l'étendue de nos connoissances . . .* Seconde edition revue, corrigée & augmentée considerablement. Amsterdam: L'Honoré & Chatelain, 1720. 3 vols. Frontispiece, 23, [2] p., p. 1–453, [66] p.; p. (453 [sic]) –965; [1] l., p. (965 [sic]) –1535, [20] p. 16 ½ cm.

The second enlarged edition of Crousaz' *Système de réflexions* (198), now called *La logique*, also elaborates on his previous remarks on Spinoza (pp. 481, 964, 1459).

- 250 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. *Gronden van zekerheid, of de regte betoogwyse der wiskundigen so in het denkbeeldige, als in het zakelyke: ter wederlegging van Spinozas denkbeeldig samenstel; en ter aanleiding van eene sekere sakelyke wysbegeerte . . .* Amsterdam: Joannes Pauli, 1720. [28] l., 458 p. 24 cm.

Bernard Nieuwentyt's (234) posthumously published work on scientific methods distinguishes between the *denkbeeldige* method which applies to *entia rationis* and the *sakelyke* method dealing with true realities. After discussing the differences between them in detail, the author, pp. 244–387, uses the *sakelyke* method to refute the method and system of Spinoza.

- 251 [**Toland**, John]. *Pantheisticon*. Sive formula celebrandae sodalitatis Socraticae, in tres particulas divisa; quae pantheistarum, sive sodalium, continent I, mores et axiomata: II, numen et philosophiam: III, libertatem, et non fallentem legem, neque fallendam. Praemittitur de antiquis et novis eruditorum sodalitatibus, ut et de universo infinito et aeterno, diatriba. Subjicitur de duplici pantheistarum philosophia sequenda, ac de viri optimi et ornatissimi idea, dissertatiuncula. Cosmopolis [London], 1720. [3] l., 89 p. 18 cm.

While John Toland in 1704, when he published his *Letters to Serena* (149), still refrained from taking a radical antireligious stand, such reluctance is no longer evident in his *Pantheisticon*, which clearly shows the unbroken influence of Spinoza. Outlining the philosophic teachings, cult and liturgy for a sodality of pantheists who reject revelation and miracles, it glorifies truth and freedom which liberate man from the shackles of tyranny and superstition. Reason is the law of the sodality of pantheists who will publicly talk about God and soul only "where they are allowed to think what they wish and to say what they think."

The *Pantheisticon*, its title page printed like a missal in black and red letters, was clandestinely published by the author at his own expense. Not many copies were made available and most of them were sold to Toland's friends at a high price.

- 252 [**Thomasius**, Christian]. *Ernsthaftte, aber doch muntere und vernuenfftige Thomasische Gedancken u. Erinnerungen ueber allerhand ausserlesene juristische Haendel*. Halle: Rengerische Buchhandlung, 1720–1725. 4 vols. [8] l., 374 p.; [4] l., 373, [7] p.; [3] l., (376) p.; [4] l., (367) p., [8] l. 20 cm.

Since 1688, when Christian Thomasius began to publish his *Schertz — und ernsthaftte . . . Gedancken*, a journal designed to expose theological and legal prejudices (72), this fighter against the bias of the orthodox published from time to time other journals or collections for the same purpose. The *Thomasische Gedancken . . . ueber . . . juristische Haendel* are among his last — a collection of reports and opinions rather than a journal.

An opinion Thomasius had rendered in July, 1717 for the law faculty of the University of Halle on Theodor Ludwig Lau's *Meditationes philosophicae de Deo, mundo, homine* (246, 602) is reprinted in the *Gedancken* (vol. 1, pp. 233–258) under the revealing title *Elender Zustand eines in die Atheisterey verfälenen Gelehrten*.

Lau, calling himself Titius, had submitted his booklet to the faculty and wanted to know whether the authorities of the city of Frankfurt were justified in considering it cause for arresting and banning him. Lau argued that, a steadfast Lutheran, he merely wrote under the mask of a pagan philosopher, that his writing was not atheistic or Spinozistic, and that illegal clerical tyranny was responsible for his troubles.

Thomasius, although a progressive, did not side with Lau. Quite the contrary. In the opinion which he submitted, he considered the actions of the Frankfurt city authorities mild and found Lau a Spinozist and Spinozism atheism incarnate (pp. 273 ff., 278; see also pp. 253 ff., 258 f., 308, 315). When Lau responded, expressing his disappointment at the verdict of the faculty, he cited as precedent other anti-Christian writings, among them Spinoza's (p. 264), which were merely confiscated and stated that "*spinozizat*" was a mostly misused term

(p.282). Thomasius whom Lau had also quoted as supporting evidence – and at that in conjunction with infamous writers – reacted angrily.

Ironically enough, the third volume of the *Thomasische Gedancken* also contains a report on the difficulties Thomasius encountered in Leipzig upon the publication of the *Schertz – und ernsthafte . . . Gedancken* (pp.1–167: *Reliquien des politischen Pabstthums mit gesuchter Inquisition wieder unschuldige Leute*). A professor in Leipzig, Augustus Pfeiffer, implying that Thomasius inclined toward atheism, had announced a *Collegium anti-atheisticum* against Thomasius and as usual the name of Spinoza was generously bandied about (see pp.68, 75–91, 155).

1721

- 253 **Bilfinger**, Georg Bernhard. *De harmonia animi et corporis humani, maxime praestabilita ex mente illustris Leibnitii, dissertationem inauguralem*; ut . . . d.13. Sept. MDCCXXI. h.1.q.c. publice defendit M.Georg. Bernhard. Buelffinger . . . respondente Jacobo Davide Essichio, . . . Tuebingen: Joseph Sigmund, (1721). 20 p. 18 ½ cm.

Georg Bernhard Bilfinger [Buelfinger] (1693–1750) was professor of philosophy at a number of German universities and the first exponent of *Leibniz-Wolffsche Philosophie*, a phrase he had coined. In this inaugural dissertation he states his opposition to Spinoza's "absolute necessity of natural laws" (pp.4, 13, 15). See also my notes on Bilfinger's *Dilucidationes*, 1725 (278).

- 254 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Oeuvres philosophiques, ou démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de l'art de la nature, dans la première partie: et dans la seconde, des preuves purement intellectuelles, & de l'idée de l'infini même . . . Edition nouvelle augmentée de diverses Reflexions (du Pere Tournemine), qui ne se trouvent dans aucune des éditions précédentes*. Amsterdam: L'Honoré et Chatelain, 1721. Portrait, [7] l., 317 p. 15 ½ cm.

The *Oeuvres philosophiques* contains Fénelon's *Démonstration* (203) and its second part (239). The preface to earlier editions by Père Tournemine is enlarged and appears at the end of the book under the title *Reflexions sur l'athéisme, sur la démonstration de Monseigneur de Cambrai, et sur le système de Spinoza*."

- 255 **Tilesius**, Balthasar Heinrich. *Disputation von der Arth zu urtheilen in der Philosophie und Mathematic, ins Deutsche uebersetzt, nebst einigen Anmerkungen darinnen auf M. Volckm[ar] Conr[ad] Poppo Spinozismum detectum geantwortet wird*. Halle: Johann Christian Hendel, 1721. [1] l., 18 p. 21 cm.

In 1720, Balthasar Heinrich Tilesius had publicly defended his dissertation, *De ratiocinatione philosophica et mathematica*, at the University of Leipzig. It argued against Andreas Ruediger that no essential difference exists between philosophical and mathematical reasoning. To refute Tilesius, Volckmar Conrad Poppo published in 1721 *Spinozismus detectus oder vernuenfftige Gedancken von dem wahren Unterschied der philosophischen und mathematischen Methode oder Lehr-Art. Worinnen der Auctor gezeiget, dass der Mechanismus und der Misbrauch der mathematischen Methode, der vornehmlich durch den Cartesium befestiget worden, der Grund des Spinozismi*. Immediately, to defend himself, Tilesius issued a German translation of his Latin dissertation, augmented by a number of notes against Poppo (pp.6, 11) and generally designed to demonstrate to anybody interested the absence of Spinozism in his writing (p.18).

1722

- 256 **B[uitendijk]**, G[osuinus van]. *Het denkbeeldig Spinosismus in't kort vertoont, en volgens de Gronden van de Heer Bernard Nieuwentyt wederlegt. Als mede, ter overtuiging van ongodisten en ongelovigen, de Goddelykheid van den Bybel, uit deszelfs merktekenen ook kort en klaar bewezen*. Harderwyk: Johan Rampen, 1722. [6] l., 100, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

In 1711 and 1713, rare Dutch booklets (listed by A. van der Linde in his Spinoza bibliography, but not seen by him) linked Gosuinus van Buitendijk with the Spinozist Pontiaan van Hattem (112); in 1717 Carolus Tuinman wrote about van Buitendijk as a godless heretic (218); and in 1718 the States of Zeeland issued an ordinance prohibiting his horrible teachings (259). But four years later van Buitendijk had become an apologist for Christian religion! His *Het denkbeeldig Spinosismus*, aimed at convincing atheists of the divine origin of the Bible, is a condensation of Bernard Nieuwentyt's anti-Spinozistic *Gronden van zekerheid*, 1720 (250). In fact, his presentation is considerably more dogmatic than Nieuwentyt's.

- 257 **Houtteville**, Claude-François. *La religion chrétienne prouvée par les faits. Avec un discours historique et critique, sur la méthode des principaux auteurs qui ont écrit pour & contre le Christianisme depuis son origine*. Paris: Grégoire Dupuis, 1722. [4] l., 204, 476 p. 25 cm.

La religion chrétienne was one of the great book successes of its time; because of it Claude-François Houtteville (1686–1742) was made a member of the *Oratoire* and secretary of Cardinal Dubois, member of the French Academy.

Brilliantly written and free of the clichés usually found in apologetic works, the book gives a remarkably independent portrait of Spinoza's philosophical character (pp. CLXIII–CLXXI, CLXXX).

- 258 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. *Demonstratio evangelica, ad Serenissimum Delphinum*. Sexta editio ab auctore recognita, castigata, et amplificata. Frankfurt: Thomas Fritsch, 1722. [9] l., 718 p., [41] l. 24 cm.

See my notes on the first edition, 1679 (33).

- 259 **Kerkelyk** plakaat-boek, behelzende de plakaaten, ordonnantien, ende resolutien, over de kerkelyke zaken. By een gebragt door Nikolaas Wiltens. . . The Hague: Paulus en Isaac Scheltus, 1722. [15] l., 872 p., [14] l. 25 cm.

This collection of ordinances related to church matters contains the ordinance of the Court of Holland of July 19, 1674, condemning Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and other heretic books, and prohibiting their printing and sale (pp. 445 ff., 507 ff.); the ordinance to the same effect of the States of Holland and West-Vriesland of June 25, 1678 against Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* (pp. 450 ff.); and the ordinance of February 11, 1718 of the States of Zeeland against the horrible heresies of the Hattemists, Gostuinus van Buitendijk and Jacob Bril — all of them originators of Spinozistic sects (pp. 692 ff.).

See also my notes on *Placaten ende ordonantien*, 1679 (36) and *Groot Placaatboek*, 1729 (305).

- 260 **Mosheim**, Johann Lorenz von. *Vindiciae antiquae christianorum disciplinae, adversus . . . Jo. Tolandi . . . Nazarenum*. Editio secunda, priori longe auctior. Accedit De vita, fatis et scriptis Joannis Tolandi commentatio. Praefationem, qua atheismi calumnia a S. Scriptura depellitur, praemisit Jo. Franciscus Buddeus. . . Hamburg: Vidua Benj. Schilleri, etc., 1722. [19] l., 184, 382 p., [5] l. 17 cm.

Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693–1755), a German church historian and chancellor of the University of Tuebingen, once more discusses (pp. 5 f. of *Vindiciae*; pp. 147 f. of *De vita . . . commentatio*) the much-discussed thesis in John Toland's *Adeisidaemon* that Moses was a Spinozist (178). In his introductory treatise, discussing atheistic attacks on the Holy Scriptures, Johann Franz Buddeus (156) pays his usual attention to Spinoza.

- 261 [**Outhof**, Gerard]. *Kort begrip der Geulingiaanse zedekonst opgesteld door Kepotyranos Germanus, met de aanmerkingen van den Heer Cartesius Kristianus, voorgesteld aan 't oordeel van . . . Antonius Driessen . . . Onder wiens Aanspaak [sic] aan den auteur dit geschriftje 't licht ziet*. Groningen: Weduwe van J. Barlinkhof, 1722. [4] l., 59 p. 19 ½ cm.

The handwritten dedication in my copy identifies the heretofore unknown author of this rare booklet. He is Gerard Outhof (1673–1733), a preacher and rector in Emden and Kampen, Holland. Among his books is a history of all floods from Noah to 1718, which may explain why my copy of the *Kort begrip* contains the author's handwritten dedication to the Dijkgraaf, the supervisor of dams, of Emden.

Kepotyranos Germanus, who prepared the summary of Geulincx' *Ethica* (23), and Cartesius Kristianus, who critically annotated it, are clearly the same person, namely Outhof. The critical notes point out that Geulincx' *Ethica* contains analogies to Stoic and Spinozistic views (Dedication to Driessen, pp. 1, 3, 6, 8, 12–18, 22–24, 29–33, 40, 42 f., 47 f., 53, 59). Andala's books (186, 194) hewing to the same line are approvingly quoted.

Antonius Driessen (1648–1748), a Calvinist professor in Groningen, Holland, who had been engaged in numerous polemics with real or assumed Spinozists, declares in his opening contribution to the booklet that it was Andala who had opened his eyes to the danger in Geulincx' writings. Though not yet prepared to go so far as calling Geulincx' *Ethica* a Spinozistic and atheistic book, he is willing to concede that it is an irreligious work.

- 262 **Baillet**, Adrien. *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs . . . Revûs, corrigés, & augmentés par M. De la Monnoye . . .* (vol. 8: *Anti-Baillet, ou Critique du livre de Mr. Baillet, intitulé Jugemens des savans. Par Mr. Ménage. Avec les Observations de Mr. De la Monnoye, & les Reflexions sur les Jugemens des savans*). Paris: Charles Moette, etc., 1722–1730. 8 vols. 28 ½ cm.

The first edition of the *Jugemens des savans* by Adrien Baillet (1649–1706), French critic and librarian, appeared in 1685–1686. Thousands of authors, ancient and modern, are reviewed and classified in this famous critical work in which the comprehensive learning of 17th century French scholarship is displayed.

Vol. 1, pp. 270, 337, discusses the French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and its different titles (686–689); strangely enough, Baillet regards Le Clerc as the translator (see 277). A few paragraphs on the titling of *Des trois imposteurs* (665, 667) are found on p. 287.

Vol. 2, p. 63, contains a bibliographical note on Benitez de Espinoza . . . *Deiste Hollandois*.

1723

- 263 **Gurdon**, Brampton. *The pretended difficulties in natural or reveal'd religion no excuse for infidelity. Sixteen sermons preach'd in the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, London; in the years 1721 and 1722: at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle. . .* London: Robert Knaplock, 1723. [8] l., 503 p. 19 ½ cm.

Brampton Gurdon (d. 1741) was another of the English divines who preached against atheism under the auspices of the Boyle lectures. Not as effectively as his predecessor Samuel Clarke (189), but in a more concentrated fashion, Gurdon uses Spinoza as his prime target and evidence because, as he says, among the modern atheists he is the only one who has pretended to furnish a regular scheme of atheism. That scheme is subjected to a detailed critique (particularly pp. 87–145, 152 ff., 213 ff.). Throughout the book, whether Spinoza is mentioned by name or just as “the Atheist,” Gurdon’s purpose is to show that if there are difficulties in religion they are not solved by Spinoza, that his cure is worse than the disease.

See also my notes on *Miscellaneae observationes*, 1732 ff. (322), which contains a review of these lectures.

- 264 Ramsay, André-Michel de. *Histoire de la vie de Mess^r. François de Salignac de la Motte-Fénelon, Archeveque Duc de Cambray*. The Hague: Frères Vaillant and N. Prevost, 1723. Portrait, 204, 28 p. 16 cm.

André-Michel de Ramsay (1686–1743), a French writer of Scottish birth, served with the English troops in the Netherlands; in 1710 he visited Fénelon, who converted him to Catholicism. Ramsay stayed and died in France. His biography of Fénelon draws on his close relationship with the Cardinal.

His discussion of Fénelon’s *Démonstration de l’existence de Dieu* gives Ramsay the opportunity to defend its author against the accusation of Spinozism (203, 222, 239, 240).

- 265 Wolff, Christian. *De differentia nexus rerum sapientis et fatalis necessitatis, nec non systematic harmoniae praestabilitae et hypothesium Spinosae luculenta commentatio, in qua simul genuina Dei existentiam demonstrandi [sic] ratio expenditur et multa religionis naturalis capita illustrantur*. . . Halle: Renger, 1724 [=1723]. [4] l., 80 p. 20 cm.

When Christian Wolff (1679–1754), the popularizer of Leibnitz and founder of the rationalistic “Leibnitz-Wolff School” which provided the philosophic foundations for the German Enlightenment, wrote *De differentia nexus rerum*, he could not foresee that this book would mark his initial involvement in a controversy which was to last for many years and radically change his life. It would create turmoil in the philosophy departments of German universities, lead to a vast polemical literature and divide professors into hostile camps.

Wolff’s antagonist was Joachim Lange (1670–1744), an orthodox Pietist and dean of the theological faculty of the University of Halle where Wolff served as professor of mathematics and natural sciences. In 1723 Lange published his *Causa Dei et religionis naturalis adversus atheismum et quae eum gignit, aut*

promovet, pseudophilosophiam veterum et recentiorum praesertim Stoicam et Spinozianam which accused Leibnitz and Wolff of promoting the cause of atheism and Spinozism. In *De differentia nexus rerum* Wolff asserts in his defense that his teachings are in accordance with those of Thomas Aquinas and recognized Lutheran theologians, and that his basic principles and his propositions deduced therefrom run counter to Spinoza’s philosophy.

De differentia nexus rerum was completed in August, 1723 and appeared before Wolff was banned from Halle in November of that year although the imprint shows the year 1724.

- 266 Wolff, Christian. *Monitum ad Commentationem luculentam de differentia nexus rerum sapientis et fatalis necessitatis, quo nonnulla sublimia metaphysicae ac theologiae naturalis capita illustrantur*. Halle: Renger, 1724 [=1723]. 36 p. 20 ½ cm.

Joachim Lange did not wait long to answer Christian Wolff’s *De differentia nexus rerum* (265).

His *Modesta disquisitio novi philosophiae systematis de Deo, mundo et homine, et praesertim de harmonia commercii inter animam et corpus praestabilita: cum epicrisi in viri cujusdam clarissimi commentationem de differentia nexus rerum* . . . appeared shortly thereafter in 1723. Wolff replied with equal speed. Although bearing the year 1724 as publication date, the *Monitum* actually appeared in 1723 prior to its author’s summary dismissal from office. Wolff declares that Lange, motivated by his desire to charge him with Spinozistic heresy, misunderstood him, and cites clerical and other authorities in his favor.

- 267 Dupin, Louis Ellies. *A new history of ecclesiastical writers: containing an account of the authors of the several books of the Old and New Testament; of the lives and writings of the Primitive Fathers; an abridgment and catalogue of their works; their various editions, and censures determining the genuine and spurious* . . . The third edition, corrected. Dublin: George Grierson, 1723–1724. 3 vols. Frontispiece, [7] l., 15, 720 p., [28] l.; [1] l., 558 p., [81] l.; [2] l., 6 (should be 4) p., [7] l., 756 p., [28] l. 39 ½ cm.

English translation of *Bibliothèque universelle de tous les auteurs ecclésiastiques* (90).

1724

- 268 Beckher, Wilhelm Heinrich. *Schediasma critico-philosophico-litterarium, de eo: Utrum Cartesius, qui de omnibus dubitandum esse credidit, numinis divini quoque existentiam in dubium vocaverit, ex indeque recte atheis anume-*

retur? Ob Cartesius gezweifelt dass ein Gott sey, und ein Atheist gewesen? Praemisso scriptorum, qui de Cartesio, in eius vel vitae monumenta, vel doctrinam novasque hypotheses inquirendo, pluribus disserverunt, brevi catalogo. Regensburg und Leipzig: Johann Philipp Haas, 1724. 64 p. 18 cm.

This discussion by a Prussian Protestant minister whether Descartes was an atheist — he answers in the negative — states that it was the abuse of Cartesian premises which led Lodewijk Meyer in his *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpret* (3) and Spinoza to atheism. (pp. 51 f., 54).

- 269 **Bril**, Jacob. Gruenendes Klee-blatt aus J. Brills Schriften; in sich haltend und darbietende Die Gemueths-Ruhe: Das liebliche und angenehme Leben: und Die Preisswuerdige Freyheit: denen, die im neuen Leben des Geistes zu gruenen begehren, zur Erquickung und Aufmunterung mitgetheilet. Auf's neue gedruckt. . . N.p., 1724. 160 p. 15 ½ cm.

A new edition of the collection published in 1714 (215).

- 270 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae variis observationibus illustratae. . . Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1724. Portrait, [8] l., 1396 p., [10] l. 20 cm.

In this theological tome Johannes Franz Budde (156) discusses Spinoza's positions with respect to God and freedom, pp. 236 f.; God and necessity, pp. 244–247; spirits, p. 455; and the resurrection of Christ, pp. 842 f.

- 271 **Buffier**, Claude. Traité des premières veritez, et de la source de nos jugemens, où l'on examine le sentiment des philosophes de ce temps, sur les premières notions des choses. Paris: La veuve Maugé, 1724. 10 p., [2] l., 324, 290 p., [3] l. 16 ½ cm.

Claude Buffier (1640–1737) was a French Jesuit whose philosophical writings were influenced by Descartes and Locke. The *Traité* is his most original book, prompting Voltaire to quip that he was the only Jesuit who wrote sensibly on philosophy. Buffier reproaches Spinoza for abusing the geometrical spirit and confounding abstract notions and reality (pp. 200 f.).

- 272 **Goesmann**, Gottfried Christoph. Disputatio metaphysico-mechanica, de necessario et contingenti ac libero, notionibus, ad diiudicationem Spinosismi aliorumque errorum necessarias, exhibens: quam in Regia Fridericiana praeside Ioanne Ioachimo Langio, publice defendit Godofredus Christoph Goesmann. . . Halle: Christian Henckel, (1724). 24 p. 19 cm.

Goesmann's thesis discusses fallacies in Spinoza's determinism. Johann Joachim Lange (1698–1765), the sponsor of the thesis, was a son of Joachim

Lange and became the successor of Christian Wolff when his father succeeded in getting the king of Prussia to dismiss Wolff (273).

- 273 **Lange**, Joachim and Christian **Wolff**. Des Herrn Doct. und Prof. Joachim Langens oder: Der Theologischen Facultaet zu Halle Anmerkungen ueber des Herrn Hoff-Raths und Professor Christian Wolffens Metaphysicam von denen darinnen befindlichen so genannten der natuerlichen und geoffenbarten Religion und Moralityaet entgegen stehenden Lehren. Nebst beygefügter Hr. Hoff-R. und Prof. Christian Wolffens gruendlicher Antwort. Cassel: auf Unkosten des Verlegers, 1724. [2] l., 75p. 20 ½ cm.

Christian Wolff and Joachim Lange had quarreled throughout the year 1723 (265, 266). Their feud became deadly serious when Wolff's German metaphysics, *Vernuenfftige Gedancken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen* (383) was denounced in 1723 as a pernicious book by Daniel Straehler, a young faculty member of the University of Halle. Wolff answered and the authorities upheld him. But then Joachim Lange submitted another, official, opinion — the *Anmerkungen* — and stated that Wolff's concept of pre-established harmony led to a Stoic and Spinozistic fatalism (p. 39). As a result, by order of the king who had been told that according to Wolff's determinism none of his soldiers could be punished for desertion, since their acts were predetermined, Wolff was deprived of his professorship and ordered to leave Prussia within twenty-four hours on pain of death. The *Antwort* contains his answer, paragraph by paragraph, to Lange's report. Bitterly he rejects Lange's calumny, stating that he need not retract since his teachings have nothing in common with Spinoza's (pp. 45, 46 f., 75).

See the following entry (274).

- 274 **Lange**, Joachim. Bescheidene und ausfuehrliche Entdeckung der falschen und schaedlichen Philosophie in dem Wolffianischen Systemate metaphysico von Gott, der Welt, und dem Menschen; und insonderheit von der so genannten harmonia praestabilita des commercii zwischen Seel und Leib: wie auch in der auf solches Systemata gegruendeten Sitten-Lehre: nebst einem historischen Vorbericht, von dem, was mit dem Herrn Auctore desselben in Halle vorgegangen: unter Abhandlung vieler wichtigen Materien, und mit kurtzer Abfertigung der Anmerkungen ueber ein gedoppeltes Bedencken von der Wolffianischen Philosophie: nach den principiis der gesunden Vernunft, auf Gutbefinden der saemtl. theologischen Facultaet in Halle dargestellet von D. Joachim Langen. . . Halle: Waysenhaus, 1724. 566 p. 20 ½ cm.

Joachim Lange followed Wolff's *Antwort* to his *Anmerkungen* for the Halle faculty, 1724 (273) with this lengthy analysis of Wolff's metaphysical system. He

reiterates the accusations of atheism and Spinozism contained in Wolff's metaphysics and shows how dangerous such beliefs are to the welfare of the state (see especially pp. 19, 47–56, 234 ff., 372 f., 384 ff.). He denounces Wolff's ethics as leading to a Leenhofian Spinozism and supports Johannes Franz Budde, valiant fighter against Spinoza and Leenhof (p. 556), whom Wolff had criticized. An account of the events in Halle leading to Wolff's dismissal opens the book.

- 275 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. *The religious philosopher: or, the right use of contemplating the works of the creator . . . Designed for the conviction of atheists and infidels . . . Translated from the Low-Dutch . . . The third edition. . .* London: J. Senex, etc., 1724. 2 vols. [1] l., 8 p., [14] l., 29 p., p. 1–234; [1] l., p. 235–585; plates. 22 ½ cm.

The English translation of Nieuwentyt's *Het regt gebruik der werelt beschouwingen* (234) by J. Chamberlayne.

1725

- 276 [**Argonne**, Noël]. *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature par M. de Vigneul-Marville*. Quatrième édition, revûe, corrigée, & augmentée. . . Paris: Au Palais chez Claude Prudhomme, 1725. 3 vols. [2] l., 491, [22] p.; [1] l., 472 p., [12] l.; [1] l., 392 p., [14] l. 16 cm.

De Vigneul-Marville is the pseudonym of Noël Argonne (1634–1704), an advocate who later became a Carthusian monk. In his *Mélanges*, a curious work full of literary anecdotes, critical observations, and satire, Argonne doubts Gilles Ménage's report (105) of a visit of Spinoza to France where only a hasty flight prevented his arrest (vol. 2, pp. 356 f.). Pierre Bayle, too, in the article "Spinoza" in his *Dictionnaire*, 1702 (141) refutes Ménage's tales and refers in this connection to de Vigneul-Marville.

- 277 **Baillet**, Adrien. *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs . . . Revûs, corrigez, & augmentez par Mr. de la Monnoye*. Nouvelle édition, augmentée 1. de l'Anti-Baillet de Menage, avec des Observations de Mr. de la Monnoye; 2. des Reflexions sur les Jugemens des savans; 3. des Reflexions sur la Vie de Descartes par Baillet; 4. des Jugemens des savans sur les maitres d'éloquence par Mr. Gibert. . . Amsterdam: Aux depens de la Compagnie, 1725. 8 vols. 25 cm.

See my notes on no. 262. The first volume of this edition of 1725 omits the erroneous ascription to Le Clerc of the French translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (pp. 170 f.).

- 278 **Bilfinger**, Georg Bernhard. *Dilucidationes philosophicae de Deo, anima humana, mundo, et generalibus rerum affectionibus*. Tuebingen: Johann Georg & Christian Gottfried Cotta, 1725. [4] l., 706 p., [14] l. 19 ½ cm.

The *Dilucidationes* is the most important work, printed and excerpted over and over, of Georg Bernhard Bilfinger [Buelfinger] (253). It defends Leibnitz' concept of the pre-established harmony, but is careful to provide an interpretation which does not lead to fatalism and conflict with religious concepts. Particular precaution is taken to avoid any semblance of Spinoza's notions of necessity, liberty and fate to Leibnitz's ideas (pp. 37, 56, 293 ff.; see also pp. 202 ff. and 314).

- 279 **Fabricius**, Johann Albert. *Delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum qui veritatem religionis christianae adversus atheos, Epicureos, deistas seu naturalistas, idololatrias, Judaeos et Muhammedanos lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt. . .* Hamburg: Theodor Christopher Felginer, 1725. Frontispiece, [5] l., 755, [29] p. 20 ½ cm.

The *Delectus* by Johann Albert Fabricius (279) is a summary of the main arguments of Christian apologetic literature and a *catalogue raisonné* of books written in defense of Christian religion against its attackers. A list of anti-Spinozistic literature is contained on pp. 357–361; other works of the same type appear under various other headings.

- 280 **Lange**, Joachim. *Ausfuehrliche Recension der wider die Wolfianische Metaphysic auf 9. Universitaeten und anderwaertig edirten saemmtlichen 26. Schriften: mit dem Erweise, dass der Herr Professor Wolf sich gegen die wohlgegruendeten Vorwurfe in seinen versuchten Verantwortungen bisher keinesweges gerettet habe, noch auch kuenftig retten koenne: denen zum besten, welche besagte Schriften weder alle haben, noch alle lesen koennen; doch aber von gedachter Philosophie gern urtheilen wollen, oder auch davon, ohne sie recht eingesehen zuhaben, eingenommen sind. . .* Halle: Buch-Laden des Waysen-Hauses, 1725. [6] l., 283, [1] p. 20 cm.

This book by Christian Wolff's indefatigable enemy, Joachim Lange, is a summary of the literature published against Wolff since the outbreak of the Lange-Wolff controversy (265, 266, 272, 273, 274). With it Lange wants to demonstrate how impressive the list of his supporters is who share the belief that Wolff is an atheistic Spinozist and how unsuccessful Wolff's attempts were to refute the accusation; see in particular pp. 4, 17, 26, 34, 38, 68 (Budde), 94 ff. (Andala), 144 ff. (Friedrich Hoffmann), 154 ff., (Johann Joachim Lange), 199 ff., 213, 247, 257.

- 281 **Martin**, Gabriel. *Bibliotheca Fayana, seu catalogus librorum bibliothecae . . . Car. Hieronymi de Cisternay Du Fay . . . Digestus & descriptus a Gabriele Martin . . .* Paris: Fabriel Martin, 1725. Portrait, [5] l., 22, 450, 107, [52] p. 20 cm.

Charles Jérôme de Cisternay Du Fay (1662–1723), captain of the French Royal Guard, formed his library with the express intention of setting up a museum of literary rarities. Among them, listed in this catalogue prepared by the Paris bookdealer Gabriel Martin, are Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (in different editions) and *Opera posthuma*, works wrongly attributed to Spinoza and other Spinozana (pp. 109 f.).

- 282 **Reimmann**, Jacob Friedrich. *Historia universalis atheismi et atheorum falso & merito suspectorum apud Judaeos, ethnicos, Christianos, Muhamedanos . . . Accessit in fine Idea compendii theologicis omnibus aliis compendiis praemittendi, in quo traditur ratio se praemuniendi, adversus scepticos, atheos, deistas, ethnicos, Judaeos, Muhamedanos & Christianos ab A.C. abhorrentes.* Hildesheim: Ludolph Schroeder, 1725. [16] l., 562 p., [11] l. 17 ½ cm.

This universal history of atheism by Jacob Friedrich Reimmann (236) is indeed universal inasmuch as it examines writers, mostly philosophers but not omitting poets, of all times and places who have been accused of atheism or Spinozism. A few suspects, among them Moses and Plato, are absolved from Spinozism; a vast number of others in a highly disparate motley, among them oriental thinkers and all Jews, are reconfirmed as Spinozists.

1726

- 283 **Iselin**, Jacob Christoff. *Neu-vermehrtes historisch- und geographisches allgemeines Lexicon, in welchem das Leben, die Thaten, und andere Merckwuerdigkeiten deren Patriarchen, Propheten, Apostel, Vaetter der ersten Kirchen, Paebsten, Cardinaelen, Bischoeffen, Praelaten, vornehmer Gelehrten, und anderer sonst in denen Geschichten beruehmter Maennern und Kuenstlern, nebst denen so genannten Ketzern; wie nicht weniger derer Kayser, Koenigen . . . und endlichen die Beschreibung derer Kayserthuemern, Koenigreichen, Fuerstenthuemern, freyen Staenden, Landschafften, Insulen, Staedten . . . und so fortan, aus allen vorhin ausgegebenen . . . Lexicis, auch anderen . . . Schrifften zusammen gezogen, . . . und um ein grosses vermehret. . .* Basel: Johann Brandmueller, 1726. 4 vols. [1] l., 32, 1129 p.; [1] l., 1020 p.; [1] l., 40, 1066 p.; [1] l., 998 p., [2] l. 35 cm.

The article "Spinoza" in this encyclopedia by Jacob Christoff Iselin (1681–1737), professor and librarian in Basel, gives a list of writings on Spinoza and his biography without bias (vol. 4, pp. 470 f.).

- 284 **Joecher**, Christian Gottlieb. *Compendioeses Gelehrten-Lexicon, darinnen die Gelehrten aller Staende, als Fuersten und Staats-Leute, die in der Literatur erfahren . . . an der Zahl ueber 20000. . . Kurtz und deutlich nach alphabetischer Ordnung beschrieben worden . . . Nebst einer Vorrede Herrn D. Joh. Burchard Menckens . . . Die andere Auflage . . . sorgfaeltig uebersehen, und mit etlichen 1000. Articulen vermehret. . .* Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditschens seel. Sohn, 1726. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [13] l., 1628 cols.; [1] l., 1682 cols., [3] p. 21 ½ cm.

Christian Gottlieb Joecher (1694–1758), a librarian, developed his lexicon of learned men and women through various editions into one of the most useful biographical reference books. His article on Spinoza (vol. 2, cols. 1121 f.) is distinguished by its objectivity.

See also my notes on the greatly enlarged edition of 1751 (446).

- 285 **Lange**, Joachim. *Nova anatome, seu Idea analytica systematis metaphysici Wolfiani, qua illud in integra compage sua, secundum suam sic dicti idealismi et materialismi genesin, seu compositionem biformentem, ob graves rationes denuo resolutum atque evisceratum exhibetur: cui . . . praemittitur Oratio de sapientia sinarum Confuciana, quam systematis istius auctor Halae Sax. die XII. Jul. a. MDCCXXI . . . recitavit, notis elencicis uberioribus instructa: ac subiungitur epicrisis in notas istius orationis Wolfianas. . .* Frankfurt und Leipzig: Knoch, 1726. 174 p. 20 cm.

Another publication, and by far not the last, by which Joachim Lange tries to demolish Christian Wolff (274, 280). It begins with a reprint of Wolff's lecture in 1721 on Chinese philosophy in which Wolff praised the ethics of the "pagan" Chinese, thereby provoking the faculty of his university to examine all his other writings. It continues with Lange's critical analysis of Wolff's metaphysics, emphasizing at many places the Spinozistic character of Wolff's statements (see particularly pp. 84 f., 88, 93, and 125). The appendix on atheism — whether it is per se detrimental to morality and the state — cites Spinoza and the Spinozists Leenhof and Lau as evidence that it positively is (pp. 147–151).

- 286 **Mueller**, Jacob Friedrich. *Wahres Mittel, alle Puncten, worueber zwischen Herrn Hof-Rath und Prof. Wolffen und seinen Gegnern bissher gestritten worden, leicht einzusehen, und ohne Muehe zu beurtheilen; vor diejenige, welche die Streit-Schrifften nicht alle lesen wollen, verfasst. . .* Frankfurt am Main: Schoenwetter, 1726. [8] l., 307, [1] p. 20 ½ cm.

Jacob Friedrich Mueller appears in this book as a staunch defender of Christian Wolff. Examining Joachim Lange's writings against Wolff and some of Lange's supporters (274, 280, 285), he finds them unconvincing and based on a misreading of philosophical texts. He terms Lange's labeling Wolff a Spinozist

ludicrous, his understanding of Spinoza faulty and goes so far as to find Lange arguing Spinozistic propositions without recognizing them (pp. 17, 22–31, 34, 50 f., 102 f., 108–113, 116, 133, 141 ff., 160, 168, 180, 197, 203, 206 ff., 214, 226).

Five years later, after Mueller had been made professor of logic and metaphysics at the University of Giessen, he repudiated Wolff and joined his detractors.

- 287 **Walch**, Johann Georg. *Philosophisches Lexicon*, darinnen die in allen Theilen der Philosophie, als Logic, Metaphysic, Physic, Pneumatic, Ethic, natuerlichen Theologie und Rechts-Gelehrsamkeit, wie auch Politic fuer kommenden Materien und Kunst-Woerter erklæret und aus der Historie erlaeutert; die Streitigkeiten der aeltern und neuern Philosophen erzehlet, die dahin gehoerigen Buecher und Schrifften angefuehret. . . . Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch seel. Sohn, 1726. Portrait, [20] l., 3048 columns, [90] p. 21 cm.

Johann Georg Walch (1693–1775), professor of philosophy at the University of Jena, was one of the editors of *Neuer Buecher-Saal*, 1710 (185) and the author of *Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten*, 1733 (327).

The article “Spinozismus” (column 2404–2410) is a relatively moderate account of Spinoza’s atheistic propositions. The *Erstes Register* lists under “Spinoza” other entries dealing with him.

1727

- 288 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Miscellanea sacra sive dissertationum aliarumque commentationum ad theologiam historiam ecclesiasticam et recentiores controversias spectantium collectio*. . . . Jena: Johann Felix Bielck, 1727. 3 vols. Portrait, [19] l., 549, [23] p.; [6] l., 422p., [15] l.; [2] l., 1292 p. (the page following p. 527 is numbered 528–1104), [12] l. 21 cm.

This collection of dissertations and academic *Gelegenheits-schriften* by Johannes Franz Budde (156) or by others done under his sponsorship, contains the “Programma de origine gentis ebraeae contra Ioan. Tolandum;” a reprint of the *Invitatio ad lectiones*. . . . *Andreae Danzii*, 1710 (179), and Hecking’s dissertation, *De usu mysteriorum fidei in praxi vitae christianae*, 1713 (207).

- 289 [**Dippel**, Johann Conrad]. *Die Kranckheit und Artzney des thierisch-sinnlichen Lebens, wie solche nach ihrem eigentlichem Ursprung mittelst einer natuerlich-artzneyischen Untersuchung wieder lauter und rein hergestellt worden. Wobey zugleich die ungereimte Thorheiten derjenigen, so alles nur nach denen Reguln einer leblosen aeusser-lichen gewaltsamen Bewegung oder Treibwercks (Mechanismus) ohne eine innerliche weissliche Anordnung eines*

geistlich verstaendlichen Wesens abmessen wollen, wie Spinoza und seines gleichen gethan, gruendlich entdeckt, und mit klaren deutlichen unwidersprechlichen Beweisssthuemern aus dem Bezirk der gesunden Vernunft herabgestossen, und widerlegt, und die gantze Ordnung der allgemeinen Bewegung in ihrer genauer Aneinanderhangung gebuehrend vorgetragen werden durch Christian Democritum, der Artzney Doctorn. Erstmahls lateinisch zu Leyden in Holland . . . 1711. der Welt bekannt gemacht. Nachmahls . . . in die hochteutsche Sprache uebersetzt von P(olycarpus) C(hrysostomus) [Georg Christoph Brendel]. Zum andernmahl teutsch gedruckt. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1727. 224, 48 p. 18 cm.

Die Kranckheit is the German translation of *Vitae animalis morbus et medicina*, 1711, the dissertation — a bizarre one — which Johann Conrad Dippel (193) submitted to obtain a medical degree. Like other writings of his, this dissertation aims at analyzing and describing the basic powers of nature and mind. To achieve his purpose, Dippel uses fanciful speculation and sharp empirical observation curiously intermingled. The main targets of his attack are the systems of “mechanism” which range from Spinoza’s fatalism to the theological doctrines of predestination. Spinoza, as Dippel sees it, submits even God to the “onslaught” of mechanical sensations (pp. 41 ff.). Philosophers who conceive of God as *actus purus* in truth follow, Dippel says, Spinoza’s mechanistic teachings (pp. 192 f.), and altogether the absolute ontological causation which he propounds led Spinoza to madness when he eliminated divine decree and providence (pp. 210 ff.).

Another German translation appeared in 1736 (337).

- 290 **Hollmann**, Samuel Christian. *Commentatio philosophica de miraculis et genuinis eorundem criteriis aliorumque quorundam de iisdem sentiis ad tollenda, quae circa vulgarem moveri sententiam possunt, dubia inprimis comparata*. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Haeredes B. Zimmermanni, 1727. [8] l., 168p. 19 cm.

Samuel Christian Hollmann (1696–1787), a professor at the university of Wittenberg, first criticized the philosophy of Christian Wolff, but then in this book became reconciled to it. The *Commentatio*, accepting Wolff’s position on miracles, rejects their denial by Spinoza (pp. 145–157).

- 291 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. *Het regt gebruik der werelt beschouwingen, ter overtui-ginge van ongodisten en ongelovigen aangetoont*. . . . Den vierden druk. Amsterdam: Joannes Pauli, 1727. [1] l., frontispiece, [1] l., portrait, [5] l., 916 p., [9] l., 28 plates. 24 cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1717 (234).

- 292 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. *L'Existence de Dieu, démontrée par les merveilles de la nature en trois Parties; ou l'on traite de la structure du corps de l'homme, des elemens, des astres, & de leurs divers effets. . . .* Amsterdam. Jean Pauli, 1727. [5] l., 584 p., [6] l., 28 plates. 24 cm.

French edition of Nieuwentyt, *Het regt gebruik* (234).

- 293 **Ramsay**, André-Michel de. *The travels of Cyrus . . . To which is annex'd, A discourse upon the theology and mythology of the ancients.* London: T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1727. 2 vols. [4] l., 312 p.; [1] l., 186 p., [18] l. (numbered as 17 double pages), 144 p. 20 cm.

The travels of Cyrus by the Chevalier Ramsay (264) is the English version of the Paris edition of *Les voyages de Cyrus*; both versions were published simultaneously. The book — a utopia — follows closely the model of *Télémaque*, the political novel of Ramsay's patron Fénelon. Possessed of the quietist emotional religiosity of Mme Guyon, whom he had joined after Fénelon's death in 1715, and averse to thinking of religion in terms of a philosophical system, Ramsay rejects Spinoza not as a proponent of immanence, but as an atheist to whom nature is but one immense blind matter.

This first edition is not as explicit as later editions of *The travels of Cyrus* (311) though Anaximander in Book VI of the second volume clearly is an allegorical version of Spinoza. Reference to the connection between Anaximander and Spinoza as well as Bruno and Vanini is made in the "Discourse upon the theology and mythology of the antients" which is appended to the second volume (p. 79). One also finds there a curious statement on Egomism and Spinozism.

Ramsay was also the author of *Philosophical principles of natural and revealed religion*, published posthumously in 1748, which contains a thorough discussion of Spinoza's views (430).

- 294 **Ramsay**, André-Michel de. *The travels of Cyrus . . . To which is annex'd, A discourse upon the theology and mythology of the ancients . . . The second edition.* London: T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1727–1728. 2 vols. [1] l., 8 p. (including the frontispiece), 312 p.; frontispiece, 196 p., [18] l. (numbered as 17 double pages), 144 p. 19 1/2 cm.

The second English edition of Chevalier Ramsay's utopia; see my notes on the first English edition (293).

- 295 **Stolle**, Gottlieb. *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit, denen zum besten, so den freyen Kuensten und der Philosophie obliegen . . . nunmehr zum drittenmal, verbessert und mit neuen Zusaetzen vermehret, herausgegeben. . . .*

Jena: Johann Meyers seel. Witwe, 1727–1736. Frontispiece, [8] l., 778 p., [35] l.; [4] l., 96 p., [12] l.; 268 p., [14] l. 20 1/2 cm. The last part, *Gantz neue Zusaetze und Ausbesserungen der Historie philosophischen Gelahrheit*, appeared separately in 1736.

Gottlieb Stolle (1673–1744), a man of encyclopedic knowledge, was professor of political sciences at the University of Jena. He is an important source for Spinoza's life and the genesis of his writings. As a young man, in 1703, he and two companions had visited the Netherlands. The travellers collected as much information about Spinoza as they could obtain, gathered the opinions of Dutch savants (p. 416), and interviewed people with whom Spinoza had personal contact or their descendants, among them Jan Rieuwertsz, Jr., the son of Spinoza's publisher. A complete collection of the reports of the travellers on Spinoza was published by J. Freudenthal, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinoza's*, 1899, pp. 221 ff.

The *Anleitung*, a comprehensive compendium on scholars and their writings, contains important information on Spinoza and Spinoza literature (pp. 413 ff., 480 ff., 485, 495, 676; see also p. 356; *Neue Zusaetze*, pp. 2, 42; *Gantz neue Zusaetze*, p. 153). Particularly important is Stolle's statement (p. 495) on the original Dutch version of the *Ethica*, i.e. the *Korte Verhandeling von God, de mensch en der zelfs welstand*. Generally his remarks are characterized by a moderation rarely found in similar literature: how many of his contemporaries would have dared to say that Spinoza wrote the *Ethica* as a guide to virtue as well as atheism (p. 676)?

1728

- 296 [**Campbell**, Archibald]. *Αρετη-λογία* or, an enquiry into the original of moral virtue; wherein the false notions of Machiavel, Hobbes, Spinoza, and Mr. Bayle, as they are collected and digested by the author of The fable of the bees, are examin'd and confuted; and the eternal and unalterable nature and obligation of moral virtue is stated and vindicated. To which is prefix'd, a prefatory introduction, in a letter to that author. By Alexander Innes, D. D. Preacher-Assistant at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Westminster: B. Creak, etc., 1728. [4] l., 41, [1], 333, [3] p. 19 1/2 cm.

Alexander Innes (ca. 1675–1742?) is not the author of this book; Archibald Campbell (1691–1756), professor at St. Andrews, wrote it. In 1726, on a trip to London, Campbell had given the manuscript to Alexander Innes, then a preacher in London. Innes was a crook. While serving as a chaplain to the military, he had been an accomplice of George Psalmanazar, the literary impostor. In fact, it was he who had masterminded Psalmanazar's gigantic frauds. Innes

did not hesitate a bit to publish Campbell's manuscript under his name. When Campbell came to London again in 1730, he went to see Innes and "made him tremble in his shoes." Yet, all Innes publicly did was issue a notice on the true authorship. In 1733 Campbell republished the book as his own.

The *Enquiry* challenges the moral skepticism propounded by Bernard de Mandeville in his *The fable of the bees* which had appeared in 1711 and gone through many editions (531). There is no mention of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Spinoza or Bayle in the book. The reference on the title page to them was Innes' sensationalist contribution, explained in his introduction when he calls them "champions for immorality and infidelity" from whom Mandeville transcribed his own opinions. Campbell's true position is best presented in his title of the 1733 edition of his book: he wants to show "that virtue is founded in the nature of things, is unalterable, and eternal, and the great means of private and public happiness."

- 297 **Clarke, Samuel.** A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons, preach'd in the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the years 1704, and 1705, at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle . . . The seventh edition, corrected. There is inserted in this edition, A discourse concerning the connexion of the prophecies in the Old Testament, and the application of them to Christ. There is also added, An answer to a Seventh letter, concerning the argument a priori, in proof of the being of God. London: James and John Knapton, 1728. [12] l., 502 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1711 (189).

- 298 **Clarke, Samuel.** A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons, preach'd in the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the years 1704, and 1705, at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle . . . The seventh edition, corrected. There is inserted in this edition, A discourse concerning the connexion of the prophecies in the Old Testament, and the application of them to Christ. There is also added, An answer to a Seventh letter, concerning the argument a priori, in proof of the being of God. London: James and John Knapton, 1728. [12] l., 506 p., [1] l. 20 cm.

See my notes on nos. 189 and 298.

This is a later printing of the seventh edition of 1728. It contains two inserts adding to the first issue of this edition the pages 503–506.

- 299 **Heineccius, Johann Gottlieb.** *Elementa philosophiae rationalis et moralis ex principiis ad modum evidentibus iusto ordine adornata accessere historia philosophica . . .* Frankfurt-on-Oder: Johann Gottfried Conrad, 1728. [10] l., 208, 217 (misprinted as 179) p., [12] l. 16 cm.

Johann Gottlieb Heineccius [Heinecke] (1681–1741), professor at the universities of Frankfurt-on-Oder and Halle, remarks on the similarity between Geulincx and Spinoza (pp. 64 f.) and states that Spinoza is not a product of Cartesianism (pp. 65 f.).

- 300 **Nieuwentyt, Bernard.** Gronden van zekerheid, of the regte betoogwyse der wiskundigen so in het denkbeeldige, als in het zakelyke: ter wederlegging van Spinosaas denkbeelding samenstel; en ter aanleiding van eene sekere sake-lyke wysbegeerte . . . Den tweden druk. Amsterdam: Joannes Pauli, 1728. [28] l., 456 p. 25 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1720 (250).

- 301 **Ramsay, André-Michel de.** *Les voyages de Cyrus, avec un discours sur la mythologie.* Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1728. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [4] l., 187 p.; frontispiece, [1] l., 116, 180 p. 16 ½ cm.

The second French edition of Ramsay's *Cyropédie* (293). The express references to Spinoza are on p. 81 of the *Discourse* (vol. 2); *Livre VI* contains the statements of the Spinozising *Anaximandre*.

- 302 **St. Evremond, Charles de.** *The Works . . . made English from the French original: with the life of the author; by Mr. Des Maizeaux, F.R.S.* To which are added *The memoirs of the Dutchess of Mazarin, &c.* The second edition, corrected and enlarged . . . London: J. and J. Knapton, etc., 1728. 3 vols. Portrait, [7] l., 26, 167 p., [2] l., 248 p., plate; portrait, [4] l., 432 p.; portrait, 39, 387 p. 19 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1714 (217). In this second edition the account on Spinoza is shortened (vol. 1, pp. LVI f.).

- 303 **Struve, Burkhard Gotthelf.** *Bibliotheca philosophica in suas classes distributa recensuit et largissimis accessionibus instruxit Ioannes Georgius Lotterus. . .* Jena: Ernst Claudius Bailliar, 1728. [5] l., 13, [1], 273, [49] p. 17 ½ cm.

Burkhard Gotthelf Struve, 1710 (182), produced scores of books of immense and varied learning. His *Bibliotheca philosophica*, a classification of philosoph-

ical writers, lists some of the biographical Spinoza literature (pp. 64 and 66) and writers opposing Spinoza (pp. 116, 118, 198, 201, 204, 235).

1729

- 304 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. *Vera demonstratio evangelica* das ist, ein in der Natur und dem Wesen der Sachen selbst so wohl, als in heiliger Schrift begruendeter Beweiss der Lehre und des Mittler-Amtes Jesu Christi durch Christianum Democritum von Mitter-Nacht mit sich zurueck in Teutschland gebracht, und der Pest, die im Finstern schleicht, nebst der Seuche, die im Mittage verderbet, als ein Gegen-Gift entgegen gestellt: oder Communication desjenigen, was in Schweden mit ihm passieret, und bey solcher Gelegenheit von ihm, zur Rettung der Wahrheit, zu Papier gebracht worden. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1729. 54 p., [1] l., 384 p. 17 cm.

In the first part of the *Vera demonstratio*, Johann Conrad Dippel (193) reports on his unsuccessful attempt to settle in Sweden after being released by the Danes who had held him in prison for many years. The refusal of the Swedes to grant him residence is proof to Dippel that the dark powers of the devil rule the church. To show the light and the power of the true God, Dippel presents to the world a number of writings forming the remainder of the *Vera demonstratio*. Among them is *Grund-Riss zu einem solchen systemate theologico, welches die Bloesse aller Secten und den Abfall von der einigen Religion klar vor Augen leget*, in which Dippel asserts against the theologians teaching predeterminism that the mind is free and acts without guidance by or interference from God. If one believes in predeterminism, he says, one might as well be a follower of the foolish Spinoza whose God is an immense monster (pp. 82 ff.).

- 305 Groot placaatboek vervattende alle de placaten, ordonantien en edicten, der edele mogende Heeren Staten's lands van Utrecht; mitsgaders van de ed. groot achth. Heeren Borgemeesteren en Voredschap der Stad Utrecht; tot het jaar 1728 ingesloten ... Alle in eene natuurlyke ordre ... gebragt ... en met nodige registers voorzien, door Johan vande Water. ... Utrecht: Jacob van Poolsum, 1729. 3 vols. [1] l., frontispiece, [25] l., 115, [1], 764 p.; [1] l., 1222 p.; [2] l., 1124 p. 40 cm.

The *Placaatboek*, a collection of the ordinances issued by the authorities of Utrecht, contains, vol. 3, p. 432 f., the ordinance of the magistrate of Utrecht, of October 24, 1678, prohibiting the printing and selling of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and *Opera*.

See also my notes on *Placaten ende ordonantien*, 1679 (36) and *Kerkelyk plakaat-book*, 1722 (259).

- 306 Leydekker, Melchior. *De verborgentheid des geloofs eenmal den heiligen overgelevert, of het kort begryp der ware godsgeleerdheid, beleden in de Gereformeerde Kerk ... Tweede druk.* Amsterdam: Salomon Schouten, 1729. [10] l., 464 p., [3] l. 19 ½ cm.

This book, the main work of Melchior Leydekker (1642–1721), professor of theology at the University of Utrecht — he also wrote against Leenhof's Spinozistic teachings — is a synopsis of theology according to the Reformed Church. The few references to Spinoza, named or unnamed (pp. 58, 135, 143 f., 154) reveal little beyond the routine animosity of an anti-Cartesian churchman.

- 307 Ménage, Gilles. *Menagiana ou les bons mots et remarques critiques, historiques, morales & d'érudition, de Monsieur Ménage, recueillies par ses amis ...* Nouvelle édition. Paris: Delaulne, 1729. 4 vols. [30] l., 405, [1] p.; [1] l., 460 p., [2] l.; [1] l., 432 p., [1] l.; [1] l., 418, [2] p. 16 ½ cm.

Enlarged edition of the *Menagiana* (105). The report on Spinoza's sojourn in France and his escape from that country is found in vol. 3, pp. 30 f. Vol. 4, pp. 283–312, contains a "Lettre à Monsieur Bouhier, Président au Parlement de Dijon, sur le prétendu livre des trois imposteurs," dated June 12, 1712, by Bernard de la Monnoie, the editor of the *Menagiana* (a reference to Spinoza on pp. 299 f.).

1730

- 308 [Durand, David]. The life of Lucilio (alias Julius Caesar) Vanini, burnt for atheism at Thoulouse. With an abstract of his writings. Being the sum of the atheistical doctrine taken from Plato, Aristotle, Averroes, Cardanus and Pomponatius's philosophy. With a confutation of the same; and Mr. Bayle's arguments in behalf of Vanini compleatly answered. Translated from the French into English. London: W. Meadows, 1730. 6 p., [3] l., 110 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

English translation of Durand's *La vie et les sentimens de Lucilio Vanini* (233).

- 309 Malebranche, Nicolas. *Avistouchant l'Entretien d'un philosophe chrétien avec un philosophe chinois ... pour servir de réponse à la critique de cet Entretien*, inserée dans les *Memoires de Trévoux* du mois de Juillet 1708. Paris: Michel-Estienne David, 1730. [1] l., 36 p. 16 ½ cm.

The edition of 1730 differs from the one of 1708 (169) inasmuch as the "Temoignages de plusieurs jesuites touchant l'athéisme des Chinois" (pp. 37–40) are omitted. Instead Malebranche explains briefly why he did not continue the controversy and states that he eliminated the "Temoignages" because he was not its author.

- 310 [Ramsay, André-Michel de]. Les voyages de Cyrus. Nouvelle edition. London: Jaques Bettenham, 1730. [3] l., 16, 351, 104 p. 27 ½ cm.

This is a much enlarged edition of Chevalier Ramsay's utopia (293, 294, 301). Done *au papier grand* and beautifully vignnetted, it was sold on subscription by the author; my copy contains the subscription form and sample page, dated London, April 20, 1729, and Ramsay's receipt for one Louis d'or, the price of the book, received from the Bishop of Arlais.

Ramsay explains in the "Préface" the nature of the changes and additions. The sixth book now makes it perfectly clear that "the system of Spinoza, denoted by Anaximander, is a web of vague suppositions without any proof" (p.111). Ramsay also added specific references to Spinoza outside his allegorical representation (pp.235–241); see also "Discours" pp. 51 ff. and "Lettre de Fréret," p.104.

- 311 Ramsay, André-Michel de. The travels of Cyrus . . . To which is annex'd, A discourse upon the theology and mythology of the pagans . . . The fourth edition much enlarged. London: T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1730. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [2] l., 18, 356 p.; frontispiece, 243, [186] p. 19 ½ cm.

The fourth, much enlarged English edition of Chevalier Ramsay's utopia (293, 294) is a translation of the French edition of the same year (310).

1731

- 312 Des Maizeaux, Pierre. Das Leben des weltberuehmten Herrn Peter Bayle, wie solches zuerst in franzoesischer Sprache . . . aufgesetzt, und nunmehr, seiner Schoenheit und unzehliger Merckwuerdigkeiten wegen, ins Deutsche uebertagen von J.P. Kohl. . . Hamburg: Koenig und Richter, 1731. [10] l., 459 p. 17 cm.

German translation of Des Maizeaux' *La vie de Mr. Bayle* (175, 319).

- 313 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. Vertheidigung seines Tractats Vera demonstratio evangelica &c. genannt gegen zwey unter sich selbst zwar widrig-gesinnte, aber doch hier zu einem Ziel lauffende Richter, naemlich den Barbarum Erdmann Neumeister, Pastor zu St.Jacob in Hamburg, und den Anti-Barbarum Dr. Joachim Langen, Professor Theologiae zu Halle. . . N.p., 1731. [11] l., 264 p. 16 ½ cm.

Dippel's *Vera demonstratio* appeared in 1729 (304). Joachim Lange, Christian Wolff's fiery opponent at the University of Halle, wrote against it and now Dippel attacks him, pointing out with a good deal of irony that the consequence of Lange's positions is a viewpoint worse than Spinoza's (pp. 130, 193, 198, 200, 204).

- 314 Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe. Oeuvres philosophiques, ou Demonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de l'art de la nature, dans la première partie: et dans la seconde, des preuves purement intellectuelles, & de l'idée de l'infini même . . . Nouvelle edition, où l'on a joint les Lettres du même auteur sur divers sujets concernant la religion & la metaphysique, & ses sermons. Amsterdam: Zacharie Chatelain, 1731. 2 vols. Portrait, [9] l., 368 p.; portrait, [5] l., 477 p. 15 ½ cm.

The edition of 1721 (254) further enlarged by the inclusion, among other writings, of *Lettres sur divers sujets*, 1718 (239).

- 315 Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe; François Lami; Henri de Boulainvilliers; (and Isaac Orobio de Castro). Refutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza par M. de Fenelon Archevêque de Cambrai, par le P. Lami benedictin & par M. le Comte de Boullainvilliers. Avec La vie de Spinoza, écrite par M. Jean Colerus . . . augmentée de beaucoup de particularités tirées d'une Vie manuscrite de ce philosophe, faite par un de ses amis. Brussels: François Foppens [Amsterdam], 1731. [5] l., 158, 483 (misprinted as 183), 2 p. 14 cm.

This volume was collected and edited by Abbé Nicolas Lenglet Du Fresnoy 1731 (1674–1755), an independent man of letters who wrote profusely on philosophy, politics, history and literature. It starts out with a life story of Spinoza — preponderantly a compilation from the biography by Jean Colerus (157) augmented by material from *La vie de M. Benoît de Spinoza* by Jean Maximilien Lucas (d.1697) — which favored Spinoza and was distributed in manuscript copies after two printed editions of 1719 had been banned. It further contains a preface by Henri de Boulainvilliers, followed by his 320 page long *Réfutation de Spinoza*, which is really an exercise in favor of Spinoza (665); an extract from François Lami's *Le nouvel athéisme*, 1696 (114); and the extract of Fénelon's letter which had been appended to Lami's book. The collection concludes with a reprint of Isaac Orobiso de Castro's anti-Spinozistic *Certamen philosophicum* of 1703 (145).

Only ten pages of the collection are by Fénelon who is listed first among the contributors. No doubt the name of the respected prince of the church was used so prominently to make up for the rather suspect character of Boulainvilliers' so-called refutation of Spinoza.

- 316 [Tindal, Matthew]. Christianity as old as the creation: or, the Gospel, a republication of the religion of nature. . . London, 1731. 8, 396 p. 15 ½ cm.

Matthew Tindal (1656–1733), member of All Souls College at Oxford, later a Senior of Oxford University, wrote a number of books denouncing the clergy

and defending freedom of the press. But none had so powerful an effect as his last work, *Christianity as old as the creation*, the “bible of English deism.” On p. 309, Tindal asks “And is not Spirit, nay, the Spirit of God, taken, at least in twenty different senses in the Scripture?” and refers in this connection to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Isolated as this quote is, it supports the often expressed view that Tindal’s critique of the Bible was strongly influenced by Spinoza.

1732

- 317 [Berkeley, George]. *Alciphron: or, The minute philosopher*. In seven dialogues. Containing an apology for the Christian religion, against those who are called free-thinkers. . . . London: J. Tonson, 1732. 2 vols. [6] l., 350 p.; [4] l., 358 p. 19 ½ cm.

When George Berkeley (1685–1753), the Irish philosopher, returned from a three-year stay in America, he published *Alciphron*, most of which was written in Bermuda, to refute the English freethinkers, mainly Shaftesbury, Mandeville and Collins. His reference to Spinoza and the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (vol. 2, pp. 198 f.) does not reach beyond the ordinary argument that Spinoza’s definition of natural right justifies man to do whatever he wants to do.

- 318 [Berkeley, George]. *Alciphron: or, The minute philosopher*. In seven dialogues. Containing an apology for the Christian religion, against those who are called free-thinkers. . . . The second edition. London: J. Tonson, 1732. 2 vols. [7] l., 356 p.; [4] l., 351 p. 20 cm.

See my notes on the first edition (317).

- 319 Des Maizeaux, Pierre. *La vie de Mr. Bayle . . . Nouvelle edition*. The Hague: P. Gosse et J. Neaulme, 1732. 2 vols. [6] l., 345 p.; [1] l., 407 p. 16 cm.

Pierre Des Maizeaux (175) reports that Bayle, at his death, left a manuscript of philosophical lectures in which he strongly refuted Spinoza (vol. 2, p. 325).

- 320 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. *Etwas Neues, oder Retirade der Lutherischen Orthodoxie in eine neue von etlichen Leibnitzianischen Ingenieurs aufgeworfene Schantze, in welcher Peter Hansen und Friederich Wagner . . . mit achtzig erlaeuterten Grund-Fragen von der Lehre der Lutherischen Kirche, das Mittler-Amt Christi betreffend, und in einem Buch genannt: Christianus Democritus Autocatacritus, oder der sich selbst verurtheilende Democritus, den Democritum auf einen andern Kampf-Platz fordern, und also zum gegenwaertigen Bombardement denselben noethigen . . . Samt einer Vorrede, worinn die Thorheit und Schaedlichkeit der gewoehnlichen systematischen Lehr-art*

in allen Disciplinen dargethan, und als ein Haupt-Mangel der Realitaet angemerket wird. N.p., 1732. 216 p. 16 ½ cm.

In *Etwas Neues*, Dippel (193), attacking on fronts philosophical and theological, tries to demolish Leibnitz’s principle of a pre-established harmony. In the process he berates the *esprits forts*, Spinoza among them, who believe foolishly that one infinite *principium activum*, extending itself through the equally infinite passive matter, is sufficient to explain the infinite modifications of the world and that therefore one indivisible substance represents the universe (pp. 41 ff.). But, Dippel declares, Spinoza makes more sense than Descartes (pp. 46 ff.) and Spinoza’s concept of God shows a hundred times more God-ness than Leibnitz’s monad (pp. 70 f.).

- 321 [Saint-Hyacinthe, Thémiseul de]. *Le chef d’oeuvre d’inconu, poëme heureusement découvert & mis au jour, avec des remarques savantes et recherchées, par M. le Docteur Chrisostome Matanasius. On trouve de plus une dissertation sur Homere & sur Chapelain; deux lettres sur des antiques; la peface de Cervantes sur l’Histoire de D. Quixotte de la Manche; la Deification d’Aristarchus Masso, & plusieurs autres choses non moins agréables qu’instructives . . . Sixieme edition, revüe, corrigée, augmentée, & diminuée . . .* The Hague: Pierre Husson, 1732. 2 vols. Portrait, [32] l., 1 leaf of musical notes, portrait, 528 p. (continual pagination), [10] l. 16 ½ cm.

The author, Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe (1684–1746), was a soldier and writer whose original name was Hyacinthe Cordonnier, and who for some time was thought to be the illegitimate child of Bossuet. The *Chef d’oeuvre d’un inconu*, first published in 1714, is a parody on contemporary scholars and their erudite mannerisms. The edition of 1732 is the first to contain “La déification d’Aristarchus Masso,” a satirical piece against J. Masson, the editor of the *Histoire critique de la république des lettres*, which contains a comparison between Hobbes and Spinoza, critical of Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 424 f.). Whereas, says Saint-Hyacinthe, Hobbes was a man of much esprit, made for philosophy, Spinoza had little genius, possessed scarcely the capacity of repeating Descartes from whom he took the bad, making it even worse.

- 322 *Miscellanae observationes in auctores veteres et recentiores. Ab eruditiss Britannis anno MDCCXXXI. edi coepti* (vols. 5 ff.; *Ab eruditiss Britannis inchoatae, & nunc a doctis viris, in Belgio & aliis regionibus, continuatae*). . . . Amsterdam: Jansson-Waesberg, 1732–1739. 10 vols. 20 cm.

Miscellanae observationes is a learned journal, edited by P. Burmannus and J. P. d’Orville, reporting on scholarly books and containing scholarly essays, mostly in the field of classical literature.

Volume 1, pp. 293–305 contains a review of Brampton Gurdon's Boyle lectures, *The pretended difficulties in natural or reveal'd religion*, 1723 (263), and their criticism of Spinoza's atheistic system.

1733

- 323 **Colerus**, Jean. Das Leben des Bened. von Spinoza, aus denen Schrifften dieses beruffenen Welt-Weisens und aus dem Zeugniß vieler glaubwuerdigen Personen, die ihn besonders gekannt haben, gezogen und beschrieben . . . nunmehr aber aus dem Frantzoesischen ins Hoch-Teutsche uebersetzt, und mit verschiedenen Anmerckungen vermehret. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1733. Portrait, 126 p. 17 cm.

German translation of Jean Colerus' *La vie de Spinosa*, 1706 (157). The identity of the translator and annotator is disputed; the Baer catalogue of Jacob Freudenthal's Spinoza collection, Frankfurt-am-Main, [1911], no. 168, names Johann Faccius. Whoever the annotator was, the tenor of his comments differs from that of the author. While Colerus' judgments were balanced, the tone of the preface and the comments of the translator reflect the mind of a Spinoza-baiter.

The portrait (Altkirch, *Spinoza im Portraet*, 1913, no. 34) is a badly done version of the engraving found in a few copies of the *Opera posthuma* (696). It shows in the upper left corner a serpent biting its own tail and carries in Latin the following caption: "Benedictus de Spinoza of Amsterdam — by nation and profession a Jew who later joined a circle of Christians — architect of the first system among the more penetrating atheists — eventually when he concluded in The Hague his unhappy life as master of the atheists of our age he bore in his face the sign of reprobation . . ." Again, this caption is in the spirit of the translator, not the author.

- 324 **Crousaz**, Jean Pierre de. Examen du Pyrrhonisme ancien & moderne. . . . The Hague: Pierre de Hondt, 1733. [11] l., 776 p., [6] l.; plates. 39 cm.

This volume by Jean Pierre de Crousaz (198), not accidentally in the format of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* (117), examines all of Bayle's writings at tiring length and finds that Bayle is a modern Pyrrhonist, which means an atheist and amoralist. Naturally, Bayle's treatment of Spinoza is a main reason for this assertion though sometimes Bayle is given recognition for proper criticism of Spinoza's views. The index lists all the references to Spinoza.

- 325 [**Dippel**, Johann Conrad]. Quo, moriture, ruis, Peter Hanssen! siste triumphos, Democritum miseret, te dare, caece, neci. Das ist Abgezwungene fatale

Abfertigung der absurden Prahlerey, mit welcher Hr. Peter Hanssen . . . noch unueberwindlich gegen den Democritum das Feld zu maintainieren sich und andere persuadiren will, und folglich diesen noethiget, seiner garnicht mehr zu schonen, sondern ihn so darzustellen, wie er es verlanget hat. Nebst einem Anhang: Von der Beauté und Galanterie derer heutigen Gelehrten, auf franzoesisch genennet: des beaux esprits, sans bon sens; zu teutsch aber: sehr fein geschliffene lieb- und lob-reiche Hasen-Koepfe und Schmeichler. Durch den nun immer teutscher redenden Christianum Democritum. N.p., 1733. 174 p. 16 ½ cm.

Peter Hanssen, the theologian in Holstein, Germany, against whom Dippel (193) had written *Etwas Neues* in 1732 (320), did not take Dippel's attack lying down. In 1733 he published a book "to continue the duel" and now Dippel on his part resumes the fighting. (The speed with which authors of the 18th century concocted their polemical writings and with which the printers, without the benefit of linotype machines, worked is astounding!)

The lines of attack are the same, only the vilification has become more vitriolic. Hanssen practices fraud, posing as an orthodox, says Dippel; he is in truth a Spinozistic atheist who leads people into a life without God (pp. 59 ff.), and in his stupidity and malice he leaves radical Spinozism far behind (p. 103). Every philosopher — Wolff is a prime example — who holds that the essence of things is eternal is bound to end in Spinoza's atheism (pp. 47 ff.). Leibnitz and Wolff, proposing a *harmonia praestabilita*, "the pigs' excrements of the new philosophy," act worse than Spinoza (pp. 51 ff.) and Descartes, Malebranche, Wolff, Leibnitz, Spinoza, Hobbes, Vanini, etc. are more stupid than all Arcadian peasants when they try to formulate concepts of God without using their senses and without possessing an immediate sensual experience of God. Though starting from different basic principles, their aim is the same, namely to separate man from God and overthrow religion as well as ethics, jurisprudence, and even physics (p. 124).

See also my notes on Hanssen, *Drey Wahrheiten*, 1734 (328).

- 326 [**Dippel**, Johann Conrad]. Christianus Democritus ein aufrichtiger Protestant gegen ein in verwichener Leipziger Jubilate-Messe ihm faelschlich zugeschriebenes Scriptum. Und ein orthodoxer Annihilator oder Zernichter der in diesem Scripto gleichfalls aus Nichts aufgebauten so genannten Microcosmischen neuen Schoepfung zum Vorspiel eines neuen Himmels und einer neuen Erde. . . . N.p., 1733. 120 p. 16 ½ cm.

In 1733 an anonymous book, *Microcosmische Vorspiele des neuen Himmels und der neuen Erde*, appeared and was announced by its publisher to be a work by Dippel (193). In *Ein aufrichtiger Protestant* Dippel denies being the author of

this *Scriptum chymicum* which followed the tradition of Jacob Boehme. Though not completely opposed to the ideas of Boehme and his followers, Dippel finds many concepts in the *Microcosmische Vorspiele* dangerous and worse than Spinoza's and fears that if he allowed the book to be connected with his name the label of Spinozism could be rightly attached to him (pp. 8, 14, 57–66, 84, 119).

- 327 **Walch**, Johann Georg. Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten, welche sonderlich ausser der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche entstanden. . . . Jena: Johann Meyer's Wittw, 1733–1736. 5 vols. (vol. 1 in 3rd edition). [13] l., 743, [21] p.; [24] l., 1148 p., [26] l.; [8] l., 1126 p., [45] l.; [8] l., 1150 p., [32] l.; 825, [69] p. 17 cm.

In this history of religious controversies Johann Georg Walch (287) discusses Spinoza and Spinozists in many places, the most important of which are: vol. 1, pp. 684 (Spinoza and angels); 685 (prophecy); 685 f. (miracles); 688 (anti-Spinozistic literature); vol. 3, pp. 779 f. (Descartes a Spinozist?); 780–784 (Cartesian theologians and Spinoza); 903–924 (Leenhof's Spinozism and the Leenhof controversy); 924–930 (Wilhelm Deurhof); vol. 5, pp. 36–38 (Cabala and Spinozism); 65–70 (Spinoza and his followers); 75 (Toland's Spinozism); 77–81 (Th. L. Lau); 101–103 (The Spinozistic system); 126–128 (Morality according to Spinoza); 149 f. (Spinoza's works); 168–173 (Anti-Spinozistic writings); 198 (Spinoza's refutation of miracles); 218–220 (Spinoza's views on prophecy); 222 (Spinoza and the authority of the Scriptures).

See also my notes on Walch's *Einleitung in die polemische Gottesgelahrtheit*, 1752 (453).

1734

- 328 **Hanssen**, Peter . . . Drey Wahrheiten, welche in Vernunft und Schrift gegruendet; von rechtschaffenen Gottes-Gelehrten der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirchen erkannt und behauptet; und jetzo wieder die alberne Einwendungen des grossen Windmachers Johann Conrad Dippels, vertaedet werden. Als nemlich 1. Dass die Wesen der Dinge ewig und unveraenderlich. 2. Dass die Empfindungen des Gemuehts aus Begriffen gezeuget werden und sich nach selbigen richten. 3. Dass die Seelen-Ruhe nicht ohne den Begriff von der Vergebung der Suenden; und dieser nicht ohne das Erkenntnues des Mittler-Amtes Jesu Christi in unsrem Geist entstehen koenne. Nebst einer Vorrede, darin dasjenige, was J. C. Dippel sonst in der neulichst herausgegebenen so genannten fatalen Abfertigung etc. zu Papier gebracht, mit wenigem beantwortet wird. Hamburg: Philip Hertel, 1734. 173 p. (misprinted as 117). 16 1/2 cm.

Peter Hanssen had been the target of Johann Conrad Dippel's invective in the latter's *Etwas Neues*, 1732 (320) and *Quo moriture . . . Abgezwungenen fatale*

Abfertigung, 1733 (325). In *Drey Wahrheiten* Hanssen squares accounts with Dippel, "the great windbag," and labels Dippel a Spinozist (pp. 51, 55 ff., 61 ff., 70 ff.).

- 329 **Lange**, Joachim. Hundert und dreyssig Fragen aus der neuen mechanischen Philosophie: deroselben parteiischen Liebhabern zu einer solchen Beantwortung, welche dem also genanten, und von ihnen so hoch geruehmten, principio rationis sufficientis, des zureichenden Grundes, gemaess sey; den unparteiischen Lesern aber zur freyen und vernuenftigen Beurtheilung, mit freymuethiger Bescheidenheit vorgeleget. Halle: Fritzsche Buchhandlung, 1734. 168 p. 19 1/2 cm.

When in 1733 rumors were published that the King of Prussia was preparing the revocation of his order of 1723, by which he had banned Christian Wolff from Prussia (273) and even considered recalling him to the University of Halle, Joachim Lange, Wolff's old enemy, issued his *Hundert und dreyssig Fragen*, a resume of his often uttered grievances against the Wolffian philosophy. But the King forbade Lange to write any more books attacking Wolff since they caused only "new noise and unnecessary quarreling" and ordered him to concentrate on his teaching.

A considerable part of Lange's book aims at showing that Wolff's "mechanical philosophy" is Spinozism, see preface, p. 8, and pp. 8, 10, 40 f., 46–50 (Andala and Spinoza), 59, 63 (Leibnitz's and Wolff's pre-established harmony is a Spinozistic idea), 72–82, 84, 88, 98 f., 107 f., 112, 115, 120, 122, 137 f., 146, 149 f.

See also my notes on Lange, *Kurtzer Abriss*, 1736 (338).

- 330 **Mosheim**, Johann Lorenz von. Heilige Reden ueber wichtige Wahrheiten der Lehre Jesu Christi. . . . Hamburg: Theodor Christoff Felginers Wittwe, 1734–1736. 4 vols. (vol. 1 in fifth, vol. 2 in fourth, vol. 3 in third edition). Portrait, [15] l., 272 p.; [16] l., 288 p.; [19] l., 488 p.; [12] l., 398 p. 17 cm.

Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (260) was one of the great preachers of his time. *Heilige Reden*, a collection of Mosheim's sermons, contains *Die elende Thorheit der Religions-Spoetter*, a sermon preached against the atheists. In it he thunders against Spinoza: "Is there anything more ridiculous than saying in earnest that this world is God; this dust on which we tread belongs to God's essence; that rabbits, dogs, mosquitoes are *modi* of God?" (vol. 2, p. 174 ff.).

- 331 **Leibnitz**, Gottfried Wilhelm. . . . Epistolae ad diversos, theologici, iuridici, medici, philosophici, mathematici, historici et philologici argumenti, & msc. autoris cum annotationibus suis primum divulgavit Christian. Kortholtus . . . Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1734–1742. 4 vols. Portrait, [15] l., 467, [21] p.; 504 p., [4] l.; [16] l., 476 p., [9] l.; 416 p., [6] l. 18 cm.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (241), corresponded with Spinoza and visited him in 1676. This first edition of his letters contains, vol. 4, pp. 346–348, Leibnitz's letter to Spinoza of October 5, 1671 and Spinoza's answer, the original of which is in the Library of Hanover. References to Spinoza appear in letters to Jacob Thomasius (vol. 3, p. 63) and Michael Gottlieb Hansch (p. 498); in *Philosophie chinoise* (vol. 2, pp. 427, 435); and in a letter of La Croze to Sebastian Kortholt (p. 498).

1735

- 332 **Bible.** Die goettlichen Schriften vor den Zeiten des Messie Jesus. Der erste Theil worinnen die Gesetze der Jisraelen enthalten sind nach einer freyen Uebersetzung welche durch und durch mit Anmerkungen erlaeutert und bestaetiget wird. Wertheim: Johann Georg Nehr, 1735. 1040, [1] p. 21 cm.

Johann Lorenz Schmidt (1702–1749), a Wolffian who had also studied pietistic and deistic writings and those of Spinoza, translated the Old Testament into German after submitting the text to rational examination. The result was the *Wertheim Bible* (only the Pentateuch was published), a pedantically rationalistic version, accompanied by rationalistic explanations of equal pedantry.

Immediately upon publication of the well printed and beautifully vignettied work, Schmidt, at that time a private tutor at the court of the Count of Wertheim, became the center of hot controversy. The orthodox, among them Joachim Lange, well-known adversary of Christian Wolff and his school, denounced the anonymous *Wertheimer* and his translation as atheistic and filled with all the distortions Spinoza had taught. The sale of the book was prohibited and eventually, in 1737, the Emperor ordered the arrest of Schmidt and the confiscation of the work. Schmidt escaped via Holland to Altona where he lived under an assumed name, doing the first German translation of Spinoza's *Ethica* (698). His book did not escape; its confiscation was so successful that it has become almost *introuvable*. Schmidt died in Wolfenbuettel, where asylum had been granted to him.

The numerous writings pro and con are collected in Sinnhold, *Ausfuhrliche Historie der verruffenen sogenannten Wertheimischen Bibel*, 1739 (371) and an anonymous *Sammlung*, 1738 (363).

- 333 **C., M.A.F.** Lettres sur les Hollandois. London, 1735. [1] l., 45, [1] p. 15 cm.

The author of this rare booklet is unknown. R. Murris, *La Hollande et les Hollandais au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle vue par les Français*, Paris, 1925 lists it, but knows only that it has been erroneously ascribed to Antoine de la Barre de Beaumarchais. This writer, author of *Le Hollandois, ou Lettres sur*

la Hollande (355), defended himself against the allegation of authorship in the "Discours préliminaire" of his book, and his publisher verified this denial in a special announcement.

One understands that Beaumarchais was eager to reject any association with the little book. It pictures the Dutch as narrow-minded and dull money-greedy people, and the reception it received from them was anything but friendly. The eleventh letter, pp. 37–39, followed by one on sea worms which destroy the Dutch dams, deals with Spinoza. A naive and superficial account, it looks like a remote reflection of Bayle's thoughts.

- 334 **Ruehl, Leonhard Christoph.** Menagiana, Perroniana, und Thuana, oder sonderbare Merkwuerdigkeiten von Gelehrten und ihren Schriften. Aus diesen dreien in Ana sich endigenden Sammlungen herausgezogen und den Liebhabern derselben in deutscher Sprache mitgetheilet. Nebst einer Vorrede von dem allerschlimmesten Buche. Braunschweig: Rengerische Buchhandlung, 1735. 216 p. 17 cm.

This German collection from various *Ana* by Leonhard Christoph Ruehl is arranged alphabetically. The Spinoza entry from *Menagiana* (105, 307) is on p. 203. It includes a reference to the criticism of Ménage's report by Noël Argonne (276).

The preface, which deals with "the worst book of all," i.e. *De tribus impostoribus* (665, 667) mentions Spinoza's writings as among the worst books (pp. 3, 19).

- 335 **The Young Gentleman** instructed in the grounds of the Christian religion. In three dialogues, between a young gentleman and his tutor. . . London: T. Meighan, 1735. 11, [1], 155, [1] p. 17 cm.

This book of no literary and little theological value is directed at the "young gentlemen of these nations" who because of the advantage of their birth or fortune are "being set above the level of other mortals." The anonymous author aims at demonstrating to them the falseness of the teachings of atheism, deism and freethought in which Spinoza's, of course, are included (pp. 2 f.).

1736

- 336 **[Bachstrohm, Johann Friedrich].** Christiani Democriti Redivivi Umstaendliche Erzehlung, wie es mit seinem vermeinten Tode zugegangen sey, und wie er nebst seiner neuen Gesellschaft ietzt in seiner Einsamkeit den Fall Adams und Ursprung der Suende und alles Boesen gantz anders und besser als vormahls eingesehen. Gedruckt auf dem Johannis-Berge in der Wuesten, 1736. Frontispiece, 116, 296 p. 16 ½ cm.

Johann Friedrich Bachstrohm (1686–1742) was a follower of Johann Conrad Dippel (193) in more than one way. Utilizing Dippel's pen name, and imitating his baroque style, he called himself *Christianus Democritus Redivivus*. Like Dippel, he was a radical pietist as well as an alchemist and physician; and like his master he spent his life in many countries engaged in dubious activities. At one time he was a printer in Constantinople issuing Christian religious books for distribution among the Turks. He committed suicide in a Polish prison where he had been held for high treason.

Bachstrohm sees Spinoza's "evil thoughts" as the outgrowth of his concentration on Descartes' concept of mathematical extension (pp. 145 ff., 220 f.).

- 337 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. *Christiani Democriti Kranckheit und Artzney des animalischen Lebens, wie beyde in einer physisch-medicinischen Untersuchung ihrem wahren Ursprunge wieder zugeeignet, zugleich aber die Thorheiten des Mechanismi und Spinosismi aus dem Grunde entdeckt, mit augenscheinlichen Beweiss-Gruenden aus dem Bezirck der gesunden Vernunft verstossen, und ein voelliges Systema aller Bewegung in einem kurtzen Zusammenhange dargestellt worden. Aus dem Lateinischen von neuen uebersetzt, mit umstaendlicher Beschreibung aller chymischen und medicinischen Experimenten des Autoris, die vorhin in diesem Tractat nur mit wenig Worten bemerckt gewesen, wie auch mit einem angehaengten curiosen, und nach den Becherischen und Stahlischen Grundsuetzen ausgefuehrten Bedencken von dem einfaltigen und wahren Grunde der Zerlegung, Zusammensetzung, Verbesserung und Veraenderung der Metallen: nebst dem dazu gehoerigen Experimental-Beweise, wie ein ehrlicher Mann, ohne Dienst und Amt seinen Unterhalt vor sich selbst jederzeit erwerben koenne: vermehret, und mit einem zureichlichen Register versehen. Von einem unpartheyischen Liebhaber der Wahrheit. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Leopold Montag, 1736. [15] l., 412 p., [38] l. 16 1/2 cm.*

Another German translation of Dippel's *Vitae animalis morbus et medicina* (289) with annotations and additions by the anonymous translator.

- 338 Lange, Joachim [and Johann Gustav Reinbeck]. *Kurtzer Abriss derjenigen Lehr-Saetze, welche in der Wolffischen Philosophie der natuerlichen und geoffenbahrten Religion nachtheilig sind, ja sie gar aufheben, und geraden Weges, obwohl bey vieler gesuchten Verdeckung zur Atheistery verleiten; auf hohen Befehl verfasst von D. Joachim Langen . . . Nebst des Regierungs-Raths Wolffs vermuthlichen Antwort darauf [von Johann Gustav Reinbeck]. N.p., 1736. [4] l., 52 p. 17 1/2 cm.*

In 1734 it appeared that the drawn-out "Lange-Wolff controversy" (265, 266, 272, 273, 274, 280, 285, 286) had finally come to its end: the King of Prussia had

ordered Joachim Lange to discontinue the polemic (329). But Lange was not a man to be silenced even by royal edict. In April, 1735, the King appointed a special commission charged with reexamining the writings of Christian Wolff. Lange rushed to see the King and convince him of the dangers inherent in rehabilitating his enemy. All Lange achieved was permission to submit his arguments in writing. He did so in *Kurtzer Abriss*. There is not a bit in Lange's presentation that had not been said by him before.

The answer to Lange's resume is by Johann Gustav Reinbeck (1682–1741), a theologian and philosopher in Berlin. Reinbeck was one of the three members of the commission whose recommendation led in 1739 to Wolff's formal readmission to Prussia and a Prussian university.

- 339 Radicati, Alberto, Conte di Passerano. *Recueil de piéces curieuses sur les matieres les plus interessantes*. Rotterdam: La veuve Thomas Johnson et fils, 1736. 10, 384 p. 19 cm.

Alberto Radicati Conte di Passerano e Cocconato (1698–1737), was an Italian freethinker. A convert to Calvinism, he fled from Italy in 1726, lived for a while in England, where he published a number of deist writings, and died in Holland in misery.

The *Recueil* includes, among others, translations of Jonathan Swift's ironical *Project concerning babies* and a satirical *Récit fidelle et comique de la religion des canibales modernes* in praise of Machiavelli. The opening collection of moral, historical and political discourses asserts that there are no genuine atheists except fools and that all "speculative atheists," including Spinoza, are in truth deists recognizing a first cause under such names as God, nature, eternal germs, movement or universal soul (pp. 24 f.).

- 340 [Argens, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d']. *Lettres juives, ou correspondance philosophique, historique, et critique, entre un juif voyageur à Paris & ses correspondans en divers endroits*. Amsterdam: Paul Gautier, 1736–1737. 6 vols. 332 p.; [6] l., 347 p.; [4] l., 365 p.; 16, 382 p.; frontispiece, [11] l., 400 p.; [8] l., 464 p. 16 cm.

A young diplomat and soldier from the Provence, the Marquis d'Argens (1703–1771), left his native country to live in Holland among her *philosophes* and *littérateurs*; there he wrote his first book — the *Lettres juives*. Later in Berlin, as a member of the French entourage which Frederick the Great had assembled, he served as director of the philosophical section of the Prussian Academy.

His *Lettres juives*, a fictitious correspondence between prominent Jews, shows d'Argens' interest in Spinoza, evidenced also in many of his subsequent works, such as *La philosophie du bon-sens*, 1737 (341); *Mémoires secrets*, 1744 (401); *Lettres chinoises*, 1739–1740 (372); *Histoire de l'esprit*, 1765 (500); and *Lettres cabalistiques*, 1769–1770 (522). He is opposed to Spinoza's concept of God:

"a knavish God has killed an honest God" (vol. 1, pp. 323 f.; see also vol. 3, p. 213) and intrigued by the story of the fellow-Jews attempting to kill Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 129 f.).

An enlarged edition of the *Lettres* appeared in 1764 (497) and an English translation in 1739–1740 under the title *The Jewish Spy* (373).

1737

- 341 **Argens**, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d'. *La philosophie du bon-sens, ou réflexions philosophiques sur l'incertitude des connoissances humaines, à l'usage des cavaliers et du beau-sexe*. London: Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1737. 12, 444 p., [33] l. 16 cm.

This work is the most systematic of d'Argens' writings (340) and expresses best his enlightened skepticism. Two chapters deal expressly with Spinoza, "Réfutation du dogme de l'âme du monde, et du système de Spinoza," pp. 239 ff., and "Que les principales preuves de Spinoza sont tirées du système de Des-Cartes," pp. 303 ff. As a start d'Argens attempts to trace the motives for Spinoza's reasoning (pp. 232–239), he casually discusses Spinoza in other contexts (pp. 284 f., 302, 363), and repeats the old story of Spinoza being attacked by a fellow-Jew (p. 419).

A German translation appeared in 1756 (478).

- 342 **Bayle**, Pierre. *Oeuvres diverses . . . contenant tout ce que cet auteur a publié sur des matières de théologie, de philosophie, de critique, d'histoire, & de littérature; excepté son Dictionnaire historique et critique*. Nouvelle édition considérablement augmentée. Où l'on trouvera plusieurs ouvrages du même auteur, qui n'ont point encore été imprimés. The Hague: Compagnie des libraires, 1737. 4 vols. [18] l., 760, 211 p.; [12] l., 882 p.; [8] l., 1084 p.; [10] l., 1044 p. 38 cm.

The collected works of Pierre Bayle (45) contain all his printed writings except his *Dictionnaire* (117), and some previously unpublished items. In addition to his discussions of Spinoza in the *Pensées diverses* (45), the *Continuation des Pensées diverses* (150) and the *Lettres* of 1714 (212), the *Oeuvres diverses* deal with Spinoza at various places: vol. 1, p. 561 (Thomassin on the Spinozistic character of Stoicism); pp. 616, 718 (Simon, Dupin and Spinoza); vol. 2, p. 859; vol. 3, pp. 117, 226, 329 (*Pensées diverses*); vol. 4, p. 134 (Spinoza's substance); p. 164 (authorship of the preface to *Opera*); pp. 169 f. (*Lettre de l'auteur . . . sur la question s'il a bien ou mal compris la doctrine de Spinoza*); p. 574 (on the French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*); p. 577 (Bayle's buying of Spinoza's books); p. 875 f. (Corrections of Colerus' biography; Spinoza and Condé).

- 343 **Bertram**, Johann Friedrich]. Eusebii Ulmigenae Send-Schreiben an einen guten Freund von dem Wolfischen Fato, das ist: von der mechanischen Vernuepfung und Nothwendigkeit aller Dinge, nach der Wolfischen Lehre von der Welt und dem Zusammenhang der Dinge in der Welt. Samt dessen Reflexions [sic] ueber den jesuitischen und auslaendischen Beyfall, der Wolfischen Philosophie. Bremen: Nathanael Saurmann, 1737. [2] l., 172 p. 17 cm.

Johann Friedrich Bertram (1699–1741), a German theologian and historian, reiterates with a vigor worth a less tired cause the arguments and counter-arguments which were bandied through the long run of the "Lange-Wolff controversy" (265, 266, 272–274, 280, 285, 286, 329, 338). As a faithful follower of Lange he once more categorically states that Christian Wolff's philosophy is mechanistic and fatalistic and therefore Spinozistic (pp. 1 ff., 8, 10, 16 f., 109). Furthermore, Wolff is blamed for following Spinoza and van Leenhof in teaching that man can achieve "heaven on earth" and become like God by using his natural powers (p. 149). The *Reflexiones*, in which this accusation appears, mainly tries to show that the success of Wolff's books in Germany and abroad is not indicative of their true value. There are, says Bertram, many secret Spinozists around who have no access to Spinoza's rare books and therefore can still their thirst only by drinking from the "Spinozistic dung-pools" in Wolff's writings (p. 165).

- 344 **[Boyle lectures]**. A defence of natural and revealed religion: being an abridgment (by Gilbert Burnet) of the sermons preached at the lecture founded by the Hon^{ble} Robert Boyle, Esq; . . . London: Arthur Bettesworth and Charles Hitch, 1737. 3 vols. [2] l., 483, [1] p.; [2] l., 532 p.; [2] l., 413, [1] p. 20 cm.

Robert Boyle (1627–1691), the famous English scientist and natural philosopher, established in his last will the Boyle Lectures, to defend the Christian religion against "notorious infidels, viz., atheists, theists, pagans, Jews and Mahommedans."

Two of the preachers whose abridged lectures appear in this collection — Samuel Clark in his *A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God* (189) and Brampton Gurdon in his *The pretended difficulties in natural or revealed religion* (263) — concentrated on refuting Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 81–184; vol. 3, pp. 311–418). John Hancock's *On natural and revealed religion*, abridged in vol. 2, pp. 185–226, deals with Spinoza more casually.

- 345 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Theses theologicae de atheismo et superstitione variis observationibus illustratae et in usum recitationum academicarum editae*. Suas

quoque observationes et dissertationem contra atheos adjecit Hadrianus Buurt. Utrecht: I. H. Vonk van Lynden, 1737. [18] l., 625, [21] p. 19 ½ cm.

A new edition of Budde's *Theses* (231) augmented by Hadrian Buurt's insignificant dissertation.

- 346 **D[eslandes, André François Boureau]**. Histoire critique de la philosophie. Où l'on traite de son origine, de ses progrès, et des diverses revolutions qui lui sont arrivées jusqu'à notre tems. Amsterdam: François Changuion, 1737. 3 vols. Frontispiece, [5] l., 38 p., [3] l., 374 p.; [6] l., 447 p.; [6] l., 345 p. 15 cm.

This critical history of philosophy by André François Boureau Deslandes (1690–1757), a civil servant, is a first in French literature inasmuch as it regards, though not necessarily succeeds in presenting, the history of philosophy as the history of the human spirit on the highest level of its development.

Deslandes' general view is that although Spinoza gave a geometrical tone to the philosophy which holds that matter and God are identical, he derived most of his impious views from the Jewish cabalists (vol. 1, pp. 177 ff.). According to Deslandes, Spinoza himself concedes that his system basically stems from the oldest philosophers (p. 253; see also vol. 2, p. 59).

- 347 **'s Gravesande, Wilhelm Jacob**. Introductio ad philosophiam; metaphysicam et logicam continens. Editio altera. Leiden: Johan and Herman Verbeek, 1737. [5] l., 375 p. 15 ½ cm.

Wilhelm Jacob 's Gravesande (1688–1742), professor of philosophy at the University of Leiden, was influenced by both Newton and Locke. But when he in the first edition of his *Introductio*, in 1736, defined free will as man's faculty to do what he wants to do, whatever the determinations of his will may be, he was promptly accused of crass Spinozism (in *Lettre à M. G. J. 's Gravesande*, Amsterdam, 1736, by an anonymous English writer). To negate the accusation which others repeated, 's Gravesande inserted three new passages, pp. 170–172, in the second edition. See his *Monitum de hac secundâ editione*, also pp. 51–56, and the detailed report on the controversy in Prosper Marchand, *Dictionaire historique*, 1757–1758, vol. 2, pp. 238 f. (486).

- 348 **Koethen, Johann Jacob**. Principia quaedam metaphysicae Wolfianae variis observationibus illustrata. Accedunt . . . Theses metaphysicae Leibnitianae . . . ; necnon epistolae duae, quarum prima agit de philosophiae Wolfianae praestantiâ; altera de ejusdem philosophiae usu in refutandis erroribus veritatis religionis christianae oppositis. Geneva: Pellissari, 1737. 32, 206 p. 16 ½ cm.

Johann Jacob Koethen (d. 1741), pastor of the German Protestant church in Geneva, demonstrated in many books that he was a faithful defender of

Wolffian doctrine. In this one, he uses his casual notes on Wolff's metaphysics to assert that Wolff's theses, for example, his concept of the *nexus rerum*, do not imply Spinozistic tendencies (pp. XIX, XXI, 17, 27 ff., 57 f.).

- 349 **[Lange, Samuel Gotthold]**. Vollstaendige Sammlung aller derer Schrifften, welche in der Langischen und Wolffischen Streitigkeit im Monat Junio 1736, auf hohen Befehl abgefasst worden. Mit Veramanders Anmerckungen versehen, und zum Druck befoerdert von J. F. H. Marburg, 1737. 264 p. 17 cm.

Another Lange joins the vendetta against Christian Wolff! Using the pen name Veramander, Samuel Gotthold Lange (1711–1781), Joachim's third son, a pastor and minor poet whose fame rests on the merciless critical beating given him by Lessing, compiled this volume to bolster the elder Lange's faltering campaign. The book contains a reprint of Joachim Lange's *Kurtzer Abriss* and Reinbeck's answer (338), Wolff's reply, and other materials related to the reexamination of Wolff's philosophy by a royal commission, each of them annotated by the younger Lange.

- 350 **Ludovici, Carl Guenther**. Ausfuehrlicher Entwurf einer vollstaendigen Historie der Wolffischen Philosophie, zum Gebrauche seiner Zuhoerer herausgegeben. . . . Leipzig: Johann Georg Loewe, 1737–1738. 3 vols. (vol. 1: Dritte weit vermehrte . . . Auflage). Portrait, [17] l., 376 p., [12] l.; frontispiece, [6] l., 656 p., [16] l.; [16] l., 450 p., [19] l.; plates. 17 ½ cm.

Carl Guenther Ludovici (1707–1778), professor of philosophy at the University of Leipzig, in the three volumes of this detailed survey of Christian Wolff's writings and the history of his philosophy, lists the books written in support of and against Wolff. The work contains a full running account of the controversy which arose, and lasted for years, when Wolff was accused of Spinozistic leanings (vol. 1, pp. 195, 208 ff., 224, 228, 250 ff., 289, 336; vol. 2, pp. 106 f., 167, 224, 318 f., 550 f.; vol. 3, pp. 24, 36, 110 ff., 131 f., 369). See also my notes on 351.

- 351 **Ludovici, Carl Guenther**. Sammlung und Auszuege der saemmtlichen Streitschriften wegen der Wolffischen Philosophie, zur Erlaeuterung der bestrittenen Leibnitzischen und Wolffischen Lehrsaetze . . . mit kurtzen Anmerckungen . . . Erster Theil. Leipzig: Born, 1737. [8] l., 297, [5] p. 16 ½ cm.

This collection by Ludovici, which supplements his *Ausfuehrlicher Entwurf einer vollstaendigen Historie der Wolffischen Philosophie*, 1737 f. (350), contains summaries of his polemical writings occasioned by the controversy about Wolff's alleged atheism and Spinozism. It quotes Wolff arguing against Spinoza's determinism (p. 72); Wolff defending Spinoza's character (pp. 79 f.); the faculty of the University of Tuebingen absolving Wolff of open Spinozism (p. 165);

Johann Bernhard Wiedeburg and Gottlieb Stolle following the same line (pp.174 ff.); and Arnold Nolte (pp.190 f.) and Veramander, i.e. Samuel Gotthold Lange (pp.258 ff.) declaring Wolff guilty of opening the door to Spinozism.

- 352 **Ludovici**, Carl Guenther. *Ausfuehrlicher Entwurff einer vollstaendigen Historie der Leibnitzischen Philosophie zum Gebrauch seiner Zuhoerer herausgegeben*. . . . Leipzig: Johann Georg Loewe, 1737. Portrait, [5] l., 521, [16] p., plates, 16 ½ cm.

Ludovici's work parallels his similarly organized *Ausfuehrlicher Entwurff einer vollstaendigen Historie der Wolffischen Philosophie*, 1737 f. (350). It reprints a letter of Leibnitz to Spinoza and Spinoza's answer (pp.337 ff.) and a letter of Leibnitz to Conring dealing with Descartes and Spinoza (pp.350 f.); see also p.315.

- 353 **Wolff**, Christian. *Theologia naturalis, methodo scientifica pertractata. Pars posterior, qua existentia et attributa Dei ex notione entis perfectissimi et naturae animae demonstrantur, et atheismi, deismi, fatalismi, naturalismi, Spinosismi aliorumque de Deo errorum fundamenta subvertuntur*. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Renger, 1737. [10] l., 736 p., [10] l. 21 cm.

For fourteen years Christian Wolff had written, often in quick succession, polemical books and pamphlets to defend himself against the accusation of teaching Spinozism (265, 266, 273). Now that the controversy had ended with his official vindication, Wolff for the first time presents, as part of his *Natural theology*, a systematic refutation of Spinoza's system (pp.672–730; see also on p.509 his remark on Spinoza and fatalism).

A German translation of *Theologia naturalis* appeared in 1742 ff. (394). Another German translation of Wolff's refutation of Spinoza appeared in conjunction with Johann Lorenz Schmidt's German translation of Spinoza's *Ethica* (698).

1738

- 354 **Bayle**, Pierre. *The dictionary historical and critical*. . . . The second edition . . . To which is prefixed, the life of the author, revised, corrected, and enlarged, by Mr Des Maizeaux . . . Volume the fifth. S-Z. London: D. Midwinter, etc., 1738. [2] l., 872, 143 p. 37 cm.

English translation of the volume of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* (117, 141) in which the Spinoza article appears.

- 355 **Beaumarchais**, Antoine de la Barre de. *Le Hollandois, ou lettres sur la Hollande ancienne et moderne*. . . . Seconde edition. Suivant la copie imprimée à Francfort chez François Varrentrapp, 1738. [20] l., 376 p. 15 ½ cm.

Antoine de la Barre de Beaumarchais (1688–ca.1757), French ex-clergyman and writer, refutes the rumors and assertions that he was also the author of *Lettres sur les Hollandois*, 1735 (333). On pp.293 f. he cites an unnamed citizen of Rotterdam who, though not a professional philosopher, in order to refute the system of Spinoza, reduced it to geometric demonstrations and did better than Spinoza himself. The reference is to Johann Bredenburg and his *Enervatio Tractatus theologico-politici; unà cum demonstratione, geometrico ordine disposita, naturam non esse Deum*, 1675 (21).

- 356 **Clarke**, Samuel. *A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation*. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons, preach'd in the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the years 1704, and 1705, at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle . . . The ninth edition. London: John and Paul Knapton, 1738. [12] l., 504 p. 19 ½ cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1711 (189).

- 357 [Edelmann, Johann Christian]. *Unschuldiger Wahrheiten Dreyzehende (und Vierzehende) Unterredung*. . . . (Dreyzehende Unterredung in welcher die Einwuerffe beantwortet werden, so theils von aufrichtigen Freunden der Wahrheit, theils von annoch furchtsamen Verehrern vaeterlicher Meynungen, in der Materie von der Unschuldlichkeit der Wiedergebohrnen, bisher gemacht worden . . . Nebst einer ausfuehrlichen historischen Vorrede von den bisherigen Schicksalen dieser Schriffthen. Vierzehenden Unterredung, in welcher die Lehre von der Wiederbringung aller Dinge, als der Grund-Articul aller Religion, aus unumstoesslichen Zeugnissen der Vernunft, der Heil-Schrifft, und dem Beyfall der aeltesten und reinsten Kirchen-Lehrer betrachtet, und handgreiflich gewiesen wird, dass kein einiger Articul vom gantzen Christenthum bestehen kan, wo dieser Grund geleugnet wird.) [Frankfurt: Cronau], 1738. 2 vols. 483, [5] p.; 284 p., [2] l. 16 ½ cm.

Johann Christian Edelmann (1698–1767) was one of the early radicals in German Enlightenment. For a while, as an active pietist, he lived in Berleburg, the seat of the "quiet and pious." He left them when, under the influence of English deism and free-thought, his ideas changed. But the philosophy which most of his writings advocated developed only when in 1740 he began to read Spinoza. For years he lived, wandering from city to city, hated and persecuted as a Spinozist and for his total rejection of historical Christian religion.

The first twelve of the *Unschuldige Wahrheiten*, a series of fifteen books which he published from 1735–1743, represent his first appearance in print. Written to express his doubts in the divinity of the Scriptures, they develop this

theme with increasing forcefulness. Karl Guden, *Johann Christian Edelmann*, Hannover, 1870, p. 42, sees traces of Spinoza's influence in the fourteenth book, p. 93. However, such influence at that time could have been only indirect, although the thirteenth and fourteenth *Unterredungen* most vigorously defend the right to freedom of thought against any orthodoxy.

- 358 **Edelmann**, Johann Christian. . . . Bereitete Schlaege auf der Narren Ruecken, das ist wohlgemeinte Warnung vor denen, allen Spoettern des lebendigen Gottes, bevorstehenden Strafen. Besonders denen armen, von einem schaedlichen Luegen-Geiste bissher verblendeten Inspirations-Verwandten. . . . [Berleburg], 1738. 30 p. 16 1/2 cm.

This book relates Edelmann's difficulties with the "Inspired" of Berleburg during his stay there before he turned to Spinoza (see 357).

- 359 **Gottsched**, Johann Christoph. Ad memoriam viri dum viveret nobilissimi et consultissimi Daniel. Aegidii Henrici d. II. Aug. MDCCXXXVIII. oratione publica renovandam literarum fautores et amicos humanissime invitat et philosophiam recentiore a foeda Spinosismi macula liberare pergit. Io. Christophorus Gottsched. . . . Leipzig: Breitkopf, (1738). [8] l. 20 cm.

Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766) was a German critic and professor at the University of Leipzig. His main contribution lay in the development of a theory of poetry and literature.

In this academic oration to eulogize the Leipzig professor Henrici, Gottsched, a follower of Christian Wolff, sets out to "free recent philosophy [i.e. the philosophy of the Leibnitz-Wolffian school] from the ugly blemishes of Spinozism."

An announcement published a year earlier, in 1737, had set the general theme. The accusation of Spinozism leveled at Wolff's philosophy, says Gottsched, stems from the fact that Wolff and his teacher Leibnitz used the mathematical method. But the mathematical method was not Spinoza's property. Euclid used it as well as Descartes. Yet, while they succeeded in harmonizing method and contents, discrepancies are evident between Spinoza's assertions and the mathematical form in which they are clothed. Gottsched promised to examine the definitions of Spinoza's *Ethica* and show that they derived from a misuse of the mathematical method and are entirely dissimilar to those of Leibnitz and Wolff — and also, of course, of Gottsched.

Gottsched continued his defense in five subsequent orations or "programs" published in 1738 and 1742. In a comment on the Spinoza article in his German translation of Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, 1741–1744 (385) Gottsched summarized the purpose of those brochures as follows: "Since in the recent controversies concerning the Leibnitz-Wolffian philosophy Spinozism was often made the cul-

prit, I tried to demonstrate in seven different academic programs the difference between these two philosophies, their explanations and principles, as well as their propositions and demonstrations. In all of them I showed what a poor champion in explaining and demonstrating Spinoza is and how miserably he used the mathematical method which ought to surpass all other methods in clarity and thoroughness." My collection contains all but the introductory of these very rare brochures (359–361, 391–393). The hope which Gottsched expressed to publish them in one volume did not materialize.

- 360 **Gottsched**, Johann Christoph. Ad audiendam orationem memoriae Riedelianae renovandae ergo d. XXVII. Septemb. MDCCXXXVIII h. l. q. c. habendam invitat et in amovenda a philosophia recentiori, foeda Spinosismi macula pergit Io. Christoph. Gottschedius. . . . Leipzig: Breitkopf, (1738). [8] l. 20 1/2 cm.

Another academic oration, this one in memory of Georg Riedel, in which Gottsched pursues the theme of the Henrici oration, namely, to "remove from recent philosophy the ugly blemishes of Spinozism" (359). Gottsched contrasts the clarity of Wolff's philosophy with the ambiguities of Spinoza's and shows how radically Wolff's concept of God, free will, necessity, and eternity differ from those of Spinoza.

- 361 **Gottsched**, Johann Christoph. Ad orationem memoriae Seyfertianae sacram die VIII. Nov. a. MDCCXXXVIII. . . . benevole audiendam invitat et in argumento aliquoties iam continuato ulterius pergit . . . Io. Christ. Gottschedius. . . . Leipzig: Breitkopf, (1738). [6] l. 21 cm.

This oration in memory of Christoph Seyfert continues the theme of the Henrici and Riedel orations (359, 360); it shows that Spinoza's concepts are alien to those of Leibnitz and Wolff.

- 362 **Hoffmann**, Friedrich. Opuscula phisico-medica antehac seorsim edita jam revisa, aucta, emendata & delectu habito recusa. Venice: Sebastian Coletus, 1738. 12, 412 p. 24 1/2 cm.

Friedrich Hoffmann (1660–1742) was a German physician of European fame who organized the medical faculty at the University of Halle. His writings, as the imprint of this volume evidences, were reprinted in many countries. He occupied the chair of natural philosophy at the university and his medical writings show a strong bent toward philosophical explanation and comparison.

A typical example is the essay "De fato physico et medico ejusque rationali explicatione disquisitio, in qua multa . . . argumenta de fato Stoicorum, Spinozae, medico & physico, de fortuna, providentia divina, harmonia

praestabilita, miraculis . . . tractantur" (pp. 81–101). In strongest terms he rejects Spinoza's opinions on cause, effect and order as philosophically untenable, medically useless and theologically dangerous.

In another essay, "De diaboli potentia in corpora, dissertatio physico-medica curiosa" (curious, indeed!), which maintains that Satan has power over the human body, Hoffmann turns against Balthasar Bekker and Spinoza whose teachings deny such influence.

See also my notes on Hoffman's *Opuscula pathologico-practica*, 1739 (370).

- 363 **Samlung** derienigen Schriften welche bey Gelegenheit des wertheimischen Bibelwerks fuer oder gegen dasselbe zum Vorschein gekommen sind, mit Anmerkungen und neuen Stuecken aus Handschriften vermehrt heraus gegeben. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1738. [8] l., 528 p. 20 cm.

This anonymous collection of thirty-four writings pro and con Johann Lorenz Schmidt's *Die goettlichen Schriften*, 1735, the *Wertheimer Bibel* (332), was obviously published either by Schmidt himself or one of his friends. The preface is openly in his favor, and so is the arrangement of the writings. References to Spinoza appear on pp. 51 and 171.

Another collection of writings occasioned by the Wertheim Bible, Sinnhold's *Ausfuehrliche Historie* which is uncompromisingly inimical to it, appeared in 1739 (371).

- 364 **Schultens**, Albert. Oratio academica. In memoriam Hermanni Boerhavii, viri summi. Ex decreto rectoris magnifici et senatus academici habita die IV. Novembris, an. MDCCXXXVIII. Leiden: Johann Luzac, 1738. [4] l., 83, [1] p. 26 ½ cm.

In this commemorative address, Albert Schultens (1686–1750), the renowned orientalist of the University of Leiden, reviews the life and achievements of Hermann Boerhaave (1668–1738), the great physician whose fame as a teacher attracted students from all over Europe to the medical school of his university. Schultens reports (pp. 23 f., 35) why Boerhaave, originally a student of theology, turned to medicine. Repeating the story as he had heard it from Boerhaave's brother, Schultens reports that, while a divinity student, Hermann Boerhaave travelled on a Dutch canal boat and was provoked by a stupid fellow-traveller's irrational ravings against Spinoza's teachings to lose his temper and ask him whether he had ever laid eyes on Spinoza's books. The man responded by calling Boerhaave a Spinozist. Then and there Boerhaave recognized how "undesirable" a minister's career would be for him if the church produced such intolerance.

As a matter of fact, Boerhaave wrote an inaugural dissertation, *De distinctione*

mentis a corpore, in which he castigated Spinozism. Nevertheless, he was at times suspected of having Spinozistic leanings.

- 365 **Stolle**, Gottlieb. Anmerckungen ueber D. Heumanns Conspectum reipublicae literariae, allen Liebhabern der Historie der Gelahrtheit zu Liebe an den Tag gegeben. . . . Jena: Johann Meyers seel. Erben, 1738. [4] l., 1072 p., [52] l. 17 cm.

Christoph August Heumann's *Conspectus reipublicae literariae, sive via ad historiam literariam*, published first in 1718, was a small concise introduction to the history of literature. Gottlieb Stolle (295) used it in his lectures, corrected and elaborated on it, and the result of a polyhistor's effort to improve another polyhistor's modest effort was a tome of more than 1000 pages.

Stolle is the first bibliographer who recognized that the "rare" edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* of 1674 is an "English edition" (681, 682).

- 366 **Weislinger**, Johann Nikolaus. Ausserlesene Merckwuerdigkeiten, von alten und neuen theologischen Marckschreyeren, Taschen-Spielern, Schleichern, Winkel-Predigern, falschen Propheten, Blinden-Fuehreren, Splitter-Richtern, Balcken-Traegeren, Mucken-Seigern, Cameel-Schlukkeren, und dergleichen, etc. . . . Erster Theil. . . . Strasbourg: Johannes Franciscus Le Roux, 1738. [23] l., 950 p., [34] l.; plates. 17 cm.

Johann Nikolaus Weislinger (1691–1755), a German Catholic priest, was the author of a number of venomous satirical writings, abounding in wild obscenities, against Luther and Lutheranism.

A brief biography of Spinoza, pp. 942–945, repeats the clichés of the Spinoza baiters such as that of Spinoza's face showing *un caractère de réprobation*. Speaking of the dying Spinoza, Weislinger says he fell into the hands of the enraged God.

See also 441.

- 367 **Wolff**, Christian. Theologia naturalis methodo scientifica pertractata. Pars prior integrum systema complectens, qua exsistentia [sic] et attributa Dei a posteriori demonstrantur (pars posterior, qua exsistentia [sic] et attributa Dei ex notionem entis perfectissimi et natura animae demonstrantur, et atheismi, deismi, fatalismi, naturalismi, Spinosismi aliorumque de Deo errorum fundamenta subvertuntur) . . . Editio novissima emendatior. Verona: Dyonisius Ramanzini, 1738. 2 vols. [10] l., 595, [1] p.; [8] l., 388 p. 27 cm.

An Italian edition of Wolff's *Theologia naturalis* containing the refutation of Spinoza's *Ethica* (353).

- 368 **Warburton**, William. The divine legislation of Moses demonstrated, on the principles of a religious deist, from the omission of the doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment in the Jewish dispensation . . . The second edition corrected and enlarged (vol. 1 is of the first edition) . . . London: Fletcher Gyles, 1738–1741. 2 vols. in 3. 48 p., [4] l., 472 p.; 28 p., [4] l.; p. 1–357, (1); (1), p. 358–678, 72 p. 20 cm.

The divine legislation of Moses by William Warburton (1698–1779), the English critic and divine, bishop of Gloucester, and editor of Shakespeare's and Pope's works, is a daring book. It acknowledges the absence of the idea of a future life in the Old Testament, and although it makes this very omission proof of the divine origin of the Scriptures, its main thesis was pronounced "a most horrible doctrine" by its critics. Warburton detests Spinoza and he rejects the thoughts of many ancient writers as Spinozistic (vol. 1, pp. 5, 403, 417 ff., 427, 432 f.; vol. 2, pp. 374, 421, 442 f., 455, 460); nevertheless, the label of gross heresy stuck.

A German translation appeared in 1751–1753 (449).

1739

- 369 **Crousaz**, Jean Pierre de. An examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on man. Translated from the French. . . London: A. Dodd, 1739. [1] l., 8, 227, [1] p. 17 cm.

In his earlier books (198, 249, 324) Jean Pierre de Crousaz had given vent to his horror *Spinozismi*. His *Examen de l'Essay de M. Pope sur l'homme*, published in 1737 and translated into English two years later by Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806), the poetess and translator, charges Alexander Pope with speaking in his *Essay on man* like a follower of Spinoza. Verses like "All are but parts of one stupendous Whole, Whose body Nature is, and God the Soul"; or "Submit — in this, or any other sphere, secure to be as blest as thou canst bear: Safe in the hand of one disposing Pow'r, Or in the natal, or the mortal hour"; or "One truth is clear, whatever is, is right," are plain proof to Crousaz that the philosophy expressed in Pope's *Essay* is Spinozistic fatalism (pp. 16 ff., 24 ff., 84, 104 ff., 110 ff.).

Other writers, such as Louis Racine, the Abbé Jean-Baptiste Gaultier in his *Le poème de Pope, intitulé: Essay sur l'homme, convaincu d'impiété*, 1747 (416), Robert-Joseph Duhamel in his *Lettres flamandes*, 1752 and 1753–1754 (450, 455), and the Abbe Gauchat, repeated the accusation; while Pope's commentator, William Warburton, and Thomas Warton in his *An essay on the writings and genius of Pope*, 1756–1782 (481), came to Pope's defense.

- 370 **Hoffmann**, Friedrich. Opuscula pathologico-practica seu dissertationes selectiores antea diversis temporibus editae, nunc revisae & auctiores. Accedit

ejusdem auctoris Medicus politicus. . . Venice: Sebastian Coleti, 1739. [2] l., 334 p. 24 ½ cm.

In his essay "Medicus politicus," pp. 271 ff., Friedrich Hoffmann (362) defines the requirements for a good physician and states that a physician should not be an atheist, not even a subtle one of Spinoza's kind (p. 272).

- 371 **Sinnhold**, Johann Nicolaus. Ausfuehrliche Historie der verrufenen sogenannten Wertheimischen Bibel, oder derjenigen freyen Uebersetzung der fuef Buecher Mosis, welche unter dem Titel: Die goettlichen Schriften vor den Zeiten des Messie Jesus: Der erste Theil: worinne die Gesetze der Jsraelen enthalten sind; im Jahr 1735. zu Wertheim gedruckt worden. Nebst noethigen Registern, und einer Vorrede Sr. hochwuerdigen Magnificenz Herrn Johann Georg Walch. . . Erfurt: Johann Heinrich Nonne, 1739. [5] l., 351, [5] p. 21 cm.

Johann Nicolaus Sinnhold, a Protestant pastor, surveys the controversy about Johann Lorenz Schmidt's *Wertheimer Bibel*, 1735 (332) from 1737 to 1739, and discusses the various writings, showing a strong anti-Schmidt bias, in four instalments collected in this book.

In Sinnhold's criticism of Schmidt's translation and in his notes much is made of the assertion that Schmidt blindly followed or summarized the teachings of Spinoza (Preface, pp. 8, 97, 112, 116, 135, 248, 259, 310, 332).

See also my notes on *Sammlung derienigen Schriften*, 1738, another collection of writings about the Wertheim Bible (363).

- 372 [**Argens**, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d']. Lettres chinoises, ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un chinois voyageur à Paris & ses correspondans à la Chine, en Moscovie, en Perse & au Japon. . . The Hague: Pierre Paupie, 1739–1740. 2 vols. [12] l., 240 p.; [4] l., 240 p. 15 ½ cm.

The *Lettres chinoises* are another of the collections of fictitious correspondences written by d'Argens (340) to criticize life and letters in France. This first edition contains the letters as they originally appeared twice a week. In vol. 1, pp. 106–112, one of the fictitious correspondents, Sioeu-Tcheou, compares the Chinese concept of the "Li" with Spinoza's "Substance."

- 373 **Argens**, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d'. The Jewish spy: being a philosophical, historical and critical correspondence, by letters which lately pass'd between certain Jews in Turkey, Italy, France, etc. Translated from the originals into French . . . and now done into English. London: D. Browne, 1739–1740. 5 vols. Portrait, frontispiece, 12, 303, [45] p.; 12, 312 p., [24] l.; 16, 322 p., [29] l.; 19, [1], 317 p., [17] l.; 24, 368 p., [13] l. 16 cm.

The English translation of D'Argens' *Lettres Juives* (340).

The passages on Spinoza, a few more than in the earlier French edition, are found in vol. 1, pp. 244–246; vol. 2, p. 45; vol. 3, pp. 11, 53, 55–56.

1740

- 374 **Bayle, Pierre.** Dictionnaire historique et critique . . . Cinquieme edition, revue, corrigée, et augmentée. Avec la vie de l'auteur, par Mr. Des Maizeaux. Tome quatrième. Q–Z. Amsterdam, etc.: P. Brunel, etc., 1740. [2] l., 804 p. 40 cm.

The last volume of this fifth edition contains Bayle's Spinoza article (117, 141) in corrected and augmented form.

- 375 **Budde, Johannes Franz.** Traité de l'athéisme et de la superstition, par feu Mr. Jean-François Buddeus . . . avec des remarques historiques et philosophiques. Traduit en françois par Louis Philon . . . et mis au jour par Jean-Chretien Fischer. Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1740. [2] l., portrait, [14] l., 368 p., [10] l. 19 cm.

A French translation of Budde's *Theses theologicae de atheismo et superstitione*, 1717 (231) brought up-to-date by J. Chr. Fischer.

- 376 **[Edelmann, Johann Christian].** Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesichte von zwey ungleichen Bruedern, Lichtlieb und Blindling beschauet nach Art der unschuldigen Wahrheiten in einem freymuethigen Gespraech abgehandelt, und Licht- und Klarheit-liebenden Gemuethern zu Gott geheiligter Bewundrung und Ergoetzung vorgestellt . . . Erster Anblick. (Zweyter Anblick: Moses mit aufgedecktem Angesichte von vorigen beyden Bruedern betrachtet, die bei Gelegenheit der mosaïschen Erzählung von der Schoepffung, zu immer groesserer Verherrlichung des grossen Nahmens Gottes von der Ewigkeit der Welt freymuethig mit einander discurren . . . Dritter Anblick: Moses mit aufgedecktem Angesichte von schon bekannten beyden Bruedern noch ferner beschauet, die bey Gelegenheit der weitem Betrachtung der sogenannten Schoepffung, von der anjetzt so sehr belobten besten Welt freymuethig mit einander discurren . . . [Frankfurt: Eichenberg, 1740]. 3 vols. [8] l., 143 p.; 172 p.; 174 p. 17 cm.

The three volumes of his *Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesichte* are the first work of Johann Christian Edelmann (357) which fully reveals the influence of Spinoza. In his *Selbstbiographie* (ed. Dr. Carl Rudolph Wilhelm Kloss, Berlin, 1849, p. 350) Edelmann describes how on June 24, 1740 he received a copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* which a friend had bought for him with other rare books at an auction in Berlin and how the book of the "honest Spinoza" opened his eyes to the "shaky condition the Bible was in."

Aware of the revolutionary stand he was about to take and of the risks to

which he would expose himself, Edelmann set out to incorporate his new insights in books of his own. In November 1740 he finished the first volume of his *Moses*, a few days before Christmas of that year the second and third. A friendly printer in Frankfurt secretly rushed the books through the presses; nevertheless, all but fifty copies of the second and third parts were confiscated by the authorities.

The first *Anblick*, clearly following Spinoza's precepts, demolishes the orthodox view of the Bible as a divinely inspired book; the second discusses God and creation according to Spinoza's *Ethica*; and the third rejects Leibnitz' and Wolff's concepts of the world in favor of a Spinozistic view of the world as necessary and eternal.

The second part, pp. 120 ff. (see also pp. 148 ff., 168 ff.) contains an inspired vindication of Spinoza. Spinoza taught, Edelmann writes, that "God is essentially ever-present in all things," that He is "the being and the essence of all things" – how wrong to call Spinoza an atheist! This part also contains reprints of the three *Chartequen* by Matthias Knutzen (19).

- 377 **[Frederick II, King of Prussia].** Anti-Machiavel, ou essay de critique sur le Prince de Machiavel. Publié par Mr. de Voltaire. Copenhagen: Jaques Preuss, 1740. 15, [1], 214, [1] p. 19 ½ cm.

In his *Anti-Machiavel* Frederick the Great (1712–1786) shows himself as the enlightened philosopher of state who propounds that, instead of being the absolute master of the people, the ruler be their first servant and an instrument for their felicity. This ideal is developed in contradiction to Machiavelli whom Frederick pictures as an immoral monster justifying tyrants.

As Frederick puts it, Machiavelli is to morality as Spinoza is to religious faith; Spinoza tried to overthrow religion and Machiavelli attempted to destroy morality by corrupting politics (p. vi).

A considerably enlarged edition appeared in 1741 (388), a critical one in 1743 (400).

- 378 **Hoffmann, Friedrich.** Opuscula theologico-physico-medica seu scripta selectiora antea diversis temporibus edita nunc revisa correctata et aucta. . . Halle: Renger, 1740. [4] l., 236 p. 20 cm.

A collection of various essays by Friedrich Hoffmann containing, among others, two previously discussed essays, namely *De potentia diaboli in corpora* and *De fato physico & medico* (362).

- 379 **[Mandeville, Bernard de].** La fable des abeilles, ou les fripons devenus honnetes gens. Avec le commentaire, où l'on prouve que les vices des particuliers tendent à l'avantage du public. Traduit de l'anglois sur la sixième edition. London:

Aux depens de la Compagnie, 1740. 4 vols. [1] l., 22, 333 p.; [1] l., 267 p.; [1] l., 48, 282 p.; [1] l., 270 p. 15 1/2 cm.

The first French translation of Mandeville's *Fable of the bees* (531).

- 380 **Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de. La métaphysique de Neuton, ou parallèle des sentiments de Neuton et de Leibnitz. . . . Amsterdam: Jaques Desbordes, 1740. [3] l., 71 p. 19 1/2 cm.

François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778), the French *philosophe*, maintains in this little book, a supplement to his popular exposition of Newton's philosophy, *Elémens de la philosophie de Neuton*, 1738, that Spinoza's philosophy was the necessary result of the Cartesian system (p. 3 f.).

- 381 **Wolff**, Christian. Uitvoerig bericht over alle de schriften van verscheide deelen der wysgeerte . . . In't neerduitsch overgebracht door Joan. Christoffel van Sproegel, Med. Doct. Amsterdam: Janssoons van Waesberge, 1740. Frontispiece, 12 p., [1] l., 639 p. 18 1/2 cm.

A Dutch translation of Christian Wolff's *Ausführliche Nachricht von seinen eigenen Schrifften, die er in deutscher Sprache von den verschiedenen Theilen der Welt-Weisheit herausgegeben*, Frankfurt am Main, 1726, which discusses on pp. 13 ff., 148 ff., and 203 ff. some writings related to the Wolff–Lange controversy (265, 266, 272–274, 280, 285, 286, 329, 338, 343, 349, 351).

- 382 **Calmet**, Antoine Augustin. Biblische Untersuchungen, oder Abhandlungen verschiedener wichtigen Stuecke, die zum Verstande der heil, Schrift dienen. Aus dem Franzoesischen uebersetzt. Mit Anmerkungen und einer Vorrede versehen von Johann Lorenz Mosheim. (Erster, zweyter Teil: zweyte Auflage). Bremen: Nathanael Saurmann, 1744 (vols. 1 and 2), 1740–1747. 6 vols. [16] l., 382 p.; [2] l., 488 p., [1] l.; [2] l., 386, [1] p.; [2] l., 452 p.; [2] l., 418, [1] p.; [2] l., 244 p. 17 cm.

The *Biblische Untersuchungen* is the German translation of considerable part of the *Commentaire littéral sur la Bible* (1707–1716) by Antoine Augustin Calmet (1672–1757), French Benedictine and Biblical exegete. Calmet knows Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* well and disputes at length Spinoza's refutation of miracles (vol. 2, pp. 4 ff.; vol. 3, pp. 6 ff., 16).

- 383 **Wolff**, Christian. Vernuenfftige Gedancken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen ueberhaupt . . . (vol. (1): Neue Auflage hin und wieder vermehret; vol. 2: Die vierde Auflage, hin und wieder vermehret). Halle: Renger, 1752; Frankfurt: Johann Benjamin Andreae and Henrich

Hort, 1740. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [31] l., 672 p., [15] l., 16 p.; frontispiece, [7] l., 675, [45] p. 17 cm.

Christian Wolff (265), accused by the orthodox of being a Spinozist and atheist, uses the second volume of the *Vernuenfftige Gedancken von Gott* to show that the first volume implicitly refuted all heterodox views.

His concept of the possible, Wolff points out, separated him from Spinoza and other fatalists (vol. 2, pp. 12–14); he avoided Spinozism by keeping apart God and nature (pp. 396–398); his concept of the supernatural removed him from Spinoza (pp. 401–403); in distinct difference from Spinoza he rejected fatalism (p. 626); and by denying that God is the cause of sin and evil he hit at the core of Spinoza's teachings (p. 645 f.).

1741

- 384 **[Baumgarten, Alexander Gottlieb]**. Philosophische Brieffe von Aletheophilus. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1741. [4] l., 108 p. 19 1/2 cm.

Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714–1762) was one of the most influential disciples of the philosopher Johann Christian Wolff. He was the founder of *Aesthetik*, aesthetics as a philosophical and systematic science, and wrote the popularizing *Philosophische Brieffe* shortly after he became professor of philosophy at the University of Frankfurt on-the-Oder. They appeared in four-page weekly installments, twenty-six of them altogether.

The first letter deals with the current prejudices against Wolff and his philosophy, and shows that those who regard the Wolffians as Spinozists know nothing about Spinoza (pp. 1 ff.). The twenty-eighth letter (on the Herrenhutions) states that in the twentieth chapter of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Spinoza sounds almost Lutheran.

- 385 **Bayle**, Pierre. Historisches und kritisches Woerterbuch, nach der neuesten Auflage von 1740 ins Deutsche uebersetzt; auch mit einer Vorrede und verschiedenen Anmerkungen (vol. 2: mit des beruehmten Herrn Maturin Veyssiere la Croze und verschiedenen andern Anmerkungen; vol. 3 and 4: mit des beruehmten Freyherrn von Leibnitz und Herrn Maturin Veissiere la Croze, auch verschiedenen andern Anmerkungen) sonderlich bey anstoessigen Stellen versehen, von Johann Christoph Gottscheden . . . Nebst dem Leben des Herrn Bayle vom Herrn Desmaizeaux. Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1741–1744. 4 vols. [8] l., 128, 736 p., [2] l.; [5] l., 957, [3] p.; [4] l., 843 p.; [4] l., 727, [143] p. 39 cm.

A German translation of the edition of 1740 of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* (374). Johann Christoph Gottsched (359), the translator, annotated Bayle's articles, particularly when he felt they were not sufficiently in line with accepted Protestant thought. Bayle's stance with respect to Spinoza in general pleased Gottsched. The first and third of his three long annotations (vol. 4, pp. 267, 275, 279) deal with books which Gottsched deems Spinozistic: Boulainvilliers' *Refutation des erreurs de Benoit Spinoza*, 1731 (315) is branded as a cunning trick to publicize Spinoza's teachings and the Christian Gabriel Fischer's *Vernuenfftige Gedanken von der Natur*, 1743 (399), is denounced as containing "a subtle and hidden Spinozism." The second annotation blames Bayle for emphasizing too strongly the difficulties of *creatio ex nihilo* and thus lending support to those "who fancy Spinozistic follies."

- 386 **Bayle**, Pierre. Verschiedene Gedanken bey Gelegenheit des Cometen, der im Christmonate 1680 erschienen, an einen Doctor der Sorbonne gerichtet. Aus dem Franzoesischen uebersetzt, und mit Anmerkungen und einer Vorrede ans Licht gestellet von Joh. Christoph Gottscheden. . . . Hamburg: sel. Felginers Wittwe und J. C. Bohn, 1741. [24] l., 922 p., [11] l. 17 1/2 cm.

A German translation of Pierre Bayle's *Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la Comète* (45) by Johann Christoph Gottsched, whose German translation of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* also appeared in 1741 (385). Gottsched rejects Bayle's gossip report on Spinoza's death by quoting the authoritative one by Jean Colerus (pp. 654–657).

- 387 [**Formey**, Johann Heinrich Samuel]. La belle Wolfienne: avec deux lettres philosophiques; l'une, sur l'immortalité de l'ame; et l'autre, sur l'harmonie préétablie. (Vol. 2: avec un Discours sur la morale des Chinois, traduit de Mr. Wolf). The Hague: Veuve de Charles Le Vier, 1741. 2 vols. [2] l., 188 p., [6] l.; [2] l., 87 p., [3] l., 76 p., [1] l. 15 cm.

Johann Heinrich Samuel Formey (1711–1797), professor at the Collège Français in Berlin and later secretary of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, proudly served as one of Christian Wolff's popularizers. Blending Leibnitz-Wolffian philosophy with ideas of Locke and Hume, he wrote numerous French books and essays to present German enlightenment. His chatty *La belle Wolfienne* was designed to explain Wolff's philosophy to those of Berlin's society for whom Gottsched's interpretations were not popular enough.

Formey denounces Spinoza's philosophy as monstrous and impious (p. 27) and for abusing the mathematical method (pp. 29 f.). Disgusted with Judaism and Spanish scholasticism Spinoza, according to Formey, became an atheistic

metaphysician (vol. 2, p. 32), whereas Wolff's teachings always show a marked difference from Spinoza's (vol. 2, pp. 57–61).

- 388 [**Frederick II**, King of Prussia]. Examen du Prince de Machiavel, avec des notes historiques & politiques. Troisième édition enrichie de plusieurs pièces nouvelles & originales, la plupart fournie par M. F. de Voltaire. . . . The Hague: Jean van Duren, 1741. 2 vols. [2] l., 60, 248 p.; [2] l., 322 p. 21 cm.

A considerably enlarged third edition of *Anti-Machiavel*, 1740 (377).

1742

- 389 **Ansaldi**, Castro-Innocente. De principiorum legis naturalis traditione ad Carolum Polinum S. Martini abbatem. Milan: Joseph Richinus Malatesta, 1742. [1] l., frontispiece, [22] l., 413 p. 26 1/2 cm.

Castro-Innocente Ansaldi (1710–1779) lived the meditative life of the scholarly priest only at rare intervals. Conflicts with church and secular authorities caused him to move all over Italy, teaching at many of her universities or writing his books in a multitude of monasteries.

His book on the tradition of natural law contrasts Spinoza's system of necessity with Plato's philosophy (pp. 24–26), and presents a comprehensive critique of Spinoza's teachings (pp. 60–79; see also pp. 46, 101, 224, 352).

- 390 [**Burnet**, Gilbert; **Robert Parsons**; etc.] Onderscheid tusschen die God diend en niet diend, uit drie egte gedenkstukken rakende het einde van den Grave van Rochester en noog een ander Engelsch edelman, in 't Engelsch geschreven, en nu op nieuw vertaalt of oversien. Mitsgaders nog uit eenen gewigtigen, noit voor desen uitgegevenen brief van een voornaam Hollandsch heer, aan een ongelukkig wysgeer; mede eindelyk uit een voorbeeld van eigene ontmoeting voorgedragen . . . door Hendrik Velse. . . . Rotterdam: Jan Daniel Beman, 1742. [22] l., 415 p. 15 1/2 cm.

When the English poet and courtier John Wilmot Earl of Rochester (1647–1680) was near death, he asked Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), the divine and historian, to come to his sickbed and, anxious to repent, communicated to him the story of his licentious life and his philosophical reasons for adhering to it. Burnet shortly thereafter published his discussion with the nobleman under the title *Some passages of the life and death of John Earl of Rochester. Written at his desire, on his death-bed . . . containing more amply their conversations on the great principles of natural and revealed religion*. Its Dutch translation

together with the translation of the sermon preached at the funeral by Robert Parsons (1647–1714) and a few other related pieces form the contents of Hendrik Velse's collection.

Rochester's pre-conversion views bear some similarity to Spinoza's opinions. Both disapprove of revealed religion and miracles, an anthropomorphic God, a morality supernaturally founded, and the biblical account of creation. Thus it is not surprising that Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* are made responsible for the poet's sinful life (Hendrik Velse's dedication to Joannes Stael; see also p.377).

- 391 **Gottsched**, Johann Christoph. *Programma v. ad recolendam . . . Ioannis Christiani Geieri, . . . d. xxiii. lun. . . . memoriam ea qua decet humanitate invitat, et programmata sua nupera, ab obiectionibus adversarii cujusdam vindicat, Ioannes Christophorus Gottschedius. . . .* Leipzig: B. C. Breitkopf, 1742. 12 p. 21 ½ cm.

In this memorial oration Gottsched defends his earlier "programs" of 1738 (359–361) against their critics, in particular Christian Gottlieb Kluge, who had pointed out that, while trying to clear the philosophies of Leibnitz and Wolff of Spinozism, Gottsched had disproved grounds on which this accusation had never been based.

- 392 **Gottsched**, Johann Christoph. *Programma vi. quo ad audiendas orationes tres in memoriam scil. Henricianam, Riedelianam atque Seyfertianam proxima xxii Decembris. mdccxlii. . . et quidem ex mandato clementissimo simul habendas invitat et in tela dudum coepta pergit . . . Io. Christoph. Gottsched . . .* Leipzig: Breitkopf, (1742). 16 p. 23 cm.

Another *programma* supplementing Gottsched's three memorial orations of 1738 (359–361) to show that the definitions and axioms of Spinoza differ from those of the Leibnitz-Wolffian school.

- 393 **Gottsched**, Johann Christoph. *Programma vii. quo ad promotionem baccalaureatem . . . die xxix. Dec. mdccxlii . . . invitat simulque argumentum hacenus pertractatum concludit . . . Io. Christoph. Gottsched. Leipzig: Breitkopf, (1742). 12 p. 23 cm.*

This baccalaureate oration concludes the argument of Gottsched's previous orations of 1738 and "programs" of 1742 (359–361, 391, 392) that there are no similarities between Spinoza and the Leibnitz-Wolffian philosophy.

- 394 **Wolff**, Christian. *Natuerliche Gottesgelahrtheit nach beweisender Lehrart abgefasst. Erster Theil den ganzen Lehrbegriff in sich haltend darin die*

Wirklichkeit und Eigenschaften Gottes aus Betrachtung der Welt bewiesen werden. Ins Deutsche uebersetzt von Gottlieb Friedrich Hagen . . . (Zweyter Theil, darin die Wirklichkeit und Eigenschaften Gottes aus dem Begriff des vollkommensten Wesens und der Natur der Seele bewiesen, wie auch die Gruende der Gottesverleugnung Deisterey, Fatalisterey, Spinozisterey und andern schaedlichen Irrthuemer von Gott ueber den Hauffen gestossen werden . . .). Halle: Rengerische Buchhandlung, 1742–1744 (1745). 2 vols. [14] l., 341, [1], 454, [1], 364 p., [14] l.; [8] l., 400, [1], 342, 124 p., [10] l. 21 cm.

German translation from the Latin of Wolff's *Theologia Naturalis* (353, 367). Wolff's refutation of Spinoza – Hagen, the translator, calls him "Spinoz" – is found in vol. 2, §§ 671–716.

1743

- 395 **Baumeister**, Friedrich August. *Philosophia definitiva hoc est definitiones philosophicae ex systemato celeb. Wolfii in unum collectae succinctis observationibus exemplisque perspicuis illustratae . . . Editio sexta, aucta et emendata. . . .* Wittenberg: Johann Joachim Ahlfeld, 1743. [1] l., 254 p., [13] l. 17 cm.

Friedrich Christian Baumeister (1709–1785), rector of the Gymnasium of Goerlitz, was a prolific writer of textbooks on the philosophy of Christian Wolff. In his *Philosophia definitiva*, a collection of Wolffian definitions, he includes some definitions of Spinoza and Spinozism (pp. 211 f., 135, 208).

- 396 **Bilfinger**, Georg Bernhard. *De origine et permissione mali praecipue moralis commentatio philosophica.* Tuebingen: C. H. Berger, 1743. [8] l., 496 p. 17 cm.

In this book on the origin and acceptability of evil, Bilfinger (253) discusses the problem of evil in the context of Spinoza's discussion of necessity (pp. 307–310).

- 397 **Crusius**, Christian August. *Dissertatio philosophica de usu et limitibus principii rationis determinantis vulgo sufficientis. . . .* Leipzig: Langenheim, 1743. [4] l., 46, [1] p. 22 ½ cm.

Christian August Crusius (1715–1776), professor of philosophy in Leipzig, in this dissertation for admittance to academic teaching, rejects the formulation and sense Leibnitz and Wolff had given to the "principle of sufficient reason." Instead, Crusius formulates a different criterion, namely "what cannot be thought of as false is true; what is unthinkable is false." Against this background, Crusius discusses Spinoza's notions of fate and determination (pp. 8 ff.).

- 398 **Edelmann**, Johann Christian. *Die Goettlichkeit der Vernunft, in einer kurzen Anweisung zu weiterer Untersuchung der aeltesten und vornehm-*

sten Bedeutung des Wortes λογος, nebst einigen, in diese Materie einschlagenden Briefen, und einem Anhang, Von der Vernunftmaessigkeit des Christenthums, allen nach einer vernuenfftigen lautern Milch begierigen, und nach der Wiederherstellung eines vernuenfftigen Gottesdienstes schon lange im Verborgenen seufftzenden Gemuethern zur Ermunterung, den unbekannten Gott etwas naeher kennen zu lernen . . . [Hachenburg, 1743]. 607 p., [28] l. 17 cm.

A savage crescendo of Edelmann's earlier writings, even of his Spinozistic *Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesichte* of 1740 (376), *Die Goettlichkeit der Vernunft* goes to the limit in attacking the sacred nature of the Bible. Using language with a violence rarely used by earlier heretics and certainly not found in Spinoza's writings, Edelmann calls the Bible an idol (p.55) never dictated by God (pp.410, 494), a book crudely falsified by the church (p.483) whose sects use it as a "thieves' lantern" (p.14). It is Reason, which is an emanation and part of the divine essence, and not the Bible, from which all truth and the wisdom of God flow.

Edelmann states that Spinoza, misinterpreted by many (p.71 f.), clearly understood the "free necessity of God" (p.279), the fact that all creatures are merely a shadow of God who is the sole essential being (pp.360 f.) and that it is impossible for God to assume human nature (pp.562 f.).

- 399 [Fischer, Christian Gabriel]. Vernuenfftige Gedanken von der Natur, was sie sey? Dass sie ohne Gott und seine allweise Beschraenkung unmaechtig sey? Und wie die einige untheilbare goettliche Kraft, in und durch die Mittelursachen, nach dem Maass ihrer verliehenen Wuerkbarkeit oder Tuechtigkeit, hie in der Welt alles alleine thaetig wuerke? Durch fleissiges Nachsinnen, ueberlegen und schliessen gefasset und zur Verherrlichung goettlicher Majestaet, auch Foerderung wichtiger Wahrheiten herausgegeben von einem christlichen Gottes-Freunde. N.p., 1743. [8] l., 746 p., [15] l. 18 ½ cm.

Christian Wolff was not the only one who was banned from Prussia because he taught Wolffian philosophy (see 273). In 1725, the Prussian king inflicted the same punishment on Christian Gabriel Fischer (1683–1751), professor of physics at the University of Koenigsberg. Exiled from his country, he went to Danzig; only in 1737 he was allowed to return.

The *Vernuenfftige Gedanken von der Natur* which Fischer published six years after he returned was carefully clothed in pious disguise. Although the author called himself a "Christian friend of God" writing for the "glorification of the majesty of the divine," he could not conceal the true character of his book (385). True, Fischer's book contains passages openly critical of Spinoza (for example, pp.10 ff., 40, 43, 58, 71), but its main direction, as the reference

to Spinoza in the preface indicates, is toward a Spinozising Wolffianism. All creatures are *modi* of the one substance; the power of God is indivisible and inseparable; all activity in the world is God's; etc.

The publication caused such a commotion that the military had to be called. The book was confiscated and immediately became a rarity. Fischer, a man of courage who did not give up easily, spoke up against censorship and sued the preachers who had denounced his book, although without success.

- 400 [Frederick II, King of Prussia]. Examen du Prince de Machiavel, avec des notes historiques & politiques, nouvelle edition, où l'on a mis au bas, par des renvois, en forme de notes, les diverses leçons de toutes les editions précédentes, enrichie de plusieurs pieces originales touchant l'impression de cet ouvrage. The Hague: aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1743. [2] l., 60, 485 p. 15 ½ cm.

A critical edition of the *Anti-Machiavel* (377).

1744

- 401 [Argens, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d']. Memoires secrets de la république des lettres, ou Le théâtre de la vérité . . . Amsterdam: Neaulme, 1744. 7 vols. [2] l., 370 p.; [2] l., 383 p.; [2] l., 412 p.; [2] l., 416 p.; [1] l., 350 p.; [2] l., 379 p.; [1] l., 342 p., [1] l. 14 cm.

These volumes of *Mémoires* are, like most of the other writings of d'Argens (340), medleys of literary information and comment gathered from many sources and tied together by their author's enlightened slant.

While drawing a parallel between the ancient philosophers and Spinoza, d'Argens presents the latter's views on substance as a first principle of things (vol. 2, pp.248–262) and on the nature of the soul (ibid., pp.321–331). He finds two kinds of Spinozism in the history of philosophy, one material, the other spiritual (vol. 3, pp.75 ff., 399). And like most any enlightener he praises Spinoza for having lived honestly and frugally like a true *philosophe* (ibid. pp.405 f.).

A revised edition of this work appeared in 1765 under the title *Histoire de l'esprit humain* (500).

- 402 Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm. Theodicee, das ist, Versuch von der Guete Gottes, Freyheit des Menschen, und vom Ursprunge des Boesen, bey dieser vierten Ausgabe durchgehends verbessert, auch mit verschiedenen Zusaetzen und Anmerkungen vermehrt von Johann Christoph Gottscheden . . . Statt einer Einleitung ist die Fontenellische Lobschrift auf den Herrn von Leibnitz von neuem uebersetzt. Hannover und Leipzig: sel. Nicol. Foerster und Sohns Erben, 1744. Portrait, [12] l., 64, 843, [53] p. 18 ½ cm.

The *Essays de théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal* (1710) by Leibnitz (241), a "vindication of God" necessitated by the world's evils, is his most popular work although one of minor philosophical value. It contains interesting observations on Spinoza and Spinozism; the German translator, Johann Christoph Gottsched (359) added to some of these observations notes of his own. Their remarks deal with Spinoza and Hobbes (pp. 40 f.); Wachter, Spinoza and the Cabala (pp. 64 f.); Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (3) (p. 71); Spinoza and necessity (Gottsched's note on Boulainvillier's *Réfutation de Spinoza*) (315) (pp. 373 ff.); Spinoza's concept of *natura* (pp. 581 ff.); Bredenburg's and Kuyper's writings against Spinoza (21), (pp. 584 ff.); the pseudo-Spinozistic *De iure ecclesiasticorum* (1) (pp. 587 ff.); Spinoza and Franciscus van den Enden (p. 589); *substantia and modi* (pp. 604 ff.); Spinoza and Descartes (p. 611).

1745

- 403 [Buonafede, Appiano]. *Ritratti poetici, storici, e critici di varj uomini di lettere di Appio Anneo de Faba Cromaziano*. Naples: Giovanni di Simone, 1745. 312 (misprinted as 112) p. 19 cm.

Appiano Buonafede (1716–1793) was professor of theology in Naples and, in his day, was Italy's most popular historian of philosophy. The *Ritratti*, which appeared under an anagram of his name, is a collection of poems about philosophers and other literary and scientific celebrities, such as Aretin, Ariost, Descartes, Copernicus, Milton, and Newton, followed by biographical and interpretative comments. The poem and the notes on Spinoza, "dirty author of an obscure Spinozism" (pp. 273–277), disclose nowhere even a trifle of understanding.

- 404 Crusius, Christian August. *Entwurff der nothwendigen Vernunft-Wahrheiten wiefern sie den zufaelligen entgegen gesetzt werden*. Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1745. Frontispiece, [15] l., 948, [29] p. 17 cm.

In this book Crusius (397) develops a system of metaphysics as "a science of necessary rational truths as opposed to accidental ones." His presentation of a "theoretical natural theology" gives him the opportunity to delineate different kinds of atheism, among them Spinozistic atheism (pp. 428 ff.).

- 405 Houtteville, Claude-François. *Erwiesene Wahrheit der christlichen Religion durch die Geschichte nebst einer Vorrede Sr. Hochwuerden Herrn Siegmud Jacob Baumgartens*. . . . Frankfurt und Leipzig: Christian Heinrich Cuno, 1745. Frontispiece, [31] l., 954 p., [25] l. 21 1/2 cm.

A German translation of Houtteville's *La religion chrétienne prouvée par les faits*, 1722 (257).

The preface by Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten (434) tells of the attacks to which Houtteville was subjected, mainly because of his relatively liberal notion of miracles; he was even called a Spinozist. The translation follows the edition of 1740, in which Houtteville clarified his position. It also contains a letter of 1722 in which Houtteville defended his stand. Yet Baumgarten, unconvinced, states his opposition to the way Houtteville deals with Spinoza's concept of miracles.

- 406 [La Mettrie, Julien Offroy de]. *Histoire naturelle de l'âme*, traduite de l'anglois de M. Charp, par feu M. H** de l'Académie des sciences, &c. . . . The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1745. [6] l., 398 p. 16 1/2 cm.

The works of Julien Offroy de La Mettrie (1709–1751), the French physician and philosopher, represent in the opinion of some of his interpreters the most coherent development of neo-Spinozism. The *Histoire naturelle de l'âme*, his first book and one of La Mettrie's principal works, was condemned to be burnt; its outspoken materialism made its author an outcast.

The book contains a few casual references to Spinoza (pp. 76, 150 f.) and in the annotations (pp. 251 ff.) a more detailed discussion of him — all strongly critical. The annotations further contain (pp. 248 f.) La Mettrie's views on Boerhaave's alleged Spinozism (364). The footnotes appear enlarged in La Mettrie's *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 1774 (537) as part of a separate section, *Abrégé des systèmes*. In that context La Mettrie shows a measure of open identification with Spinoza.

- 407 Rues, Simon Friedrich. *Tegenwoordige staet der Doopgezinden of Mennoniten, in de Vereenigde Nederlanden; waeragter komt een Berigt van de Rynsburgers of Collegianten*. . . . In't hoogduitsch beschreven . . . Vertaelt en met aantekeningen ter ophelderinge van eenige byzonderheden vermeerderd. Amsterdam: F. Houttuyn, 1745. 14 p., [1] l., 330 p., [1] l. 21 1/2 cm.

Rues' book on the present state of the Mennonites in the Netherlands, translated from German into Dutch, contains a report on the *Collegiants* of Rijnsburg, the group with whom Spinoza had lived for some time (pp. 274–330). Specifically, it deals with Johannes Bredenburg (21), Abraham Lemmermann, and Frans Kuiper (24) for whom Spinozism became an issue (pp. 298 ff.). Simon Fridrich Rues, a German theologian of the Lutheran faith, based this book on evidence and research he had gathered during a stay in Holland.

- 408 Stiebriz, Johann Friedrich. *Wolfische Gedancken von Gott, dessen Eigenschaften u. Wercken: mit Anmerckungen erlaeutert und wider allerley Einwuerffe vertheidiget*. Halle: Carl Herrmann Hemmerde, 1745. [10] l., 204 p. 17 cm.

Stiebriz' book is a running commentary on Christian Wolff's *Vernuenfftige Gedancken von Gott* (383), an elaboration as well as a refutation of its critics. It

is the kind of book and the kind of discussion of Spinoza (pp. 38, 103, 105) one expects in a Wolffian textbook; Stiebriz, a professor at the University of Halle, was a docile follower of Wolff.

1746

- 409 [Diderot, Denis]. *Pensées philosophiques*. . . The Hague: Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1746. Frontispiece, [1] l., 136 p., [6] l. 15 ½ cm.

Paul Vernière (in *Spinoza et la pensée française*, 1954, vol. 2, pp. 563 ff.) has established that Denis Diderot (1713–1784), the French man of letters and encyclopedist, used in his *Pensées philosophiques* three themes directly derived from Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and from clandestinely distributed Spinozistic manuscripts. They are his rejection of "divine anthropomorphism" as being more injurious to God than atheism; his defense of the supremacy of civil power over religion; and his vindication of biblical criticism.

- 410 Edelmänn, Johann Christian. *Abgenoethigtes jedoch andern nicht wieder aufgenoethigtes Glaubens-Bekenntniss*. Aus Veranlassung unrichtiger und verhunztter Abschriften desselben, dem Druck uebergeben, und vernuenfftigen Gemuethern zur Pruefung vorgeleget von dem Auctore. (Neuwied), 1746. 328 p., [24] l. 20 ½ cm.

Upon the publication of his *Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesichte*, 1740 (376) and *Die Goettlichkeit der Vernunft*, 1743 (398), Edelmänn became the target of violent attacks by the clergy and civil authorities. He was safe while he lived in Berleburg and Hachenburg under the protection of an enlightened count. But when, in 1744, he moved to Neuwied, the consistory of the town asked him to submit his credo in writing. He complied on September 14, 1745. Soon distorted versions were circulated, doing Edelmänn great harm. For this reason he decided to publish his credo as he had submitted it — it was only a few pages long — and to further clarify his stand by annotating it copiously.

For obvious reasons the *Glaubens-Bekenntniss* is not as outspoken as Edelmänn's books which preceded it, but to the authorities it was bold enough to have the executioner burn it. Indeed, it does say that God "in the light of reason is one eternal, immutable, most perfect being and essence present in all things" (p. 26) and that his unlimited essence cannot be expressed in the limited figure of one or several persons according to somebody's fantasy (p. 33). It asserts that since sincere and impartial scholars had determined that not one letter of the original Scriptures had remained untouched, the Bible cannot serve as a guide (pp. 46 f.). No wonder Edelmänn's book reconfirmed the belief

that he was a dangerous Spinozist. Edelmänn quotes Spinoza and other Jews who regard the biblical report on the creation of the world as a fable (pp. 229 f.) and cites (pp. 288 ff.) Adriaen Koerbagh's *Een bloemhof*, 1668 (4) and Friedrich Wilhelm Stosch's *Concordia rationis et fidei*, 1692 (674), both Spinozistic works (see my notes).

- 411 Noordkerk, Herman. *Pleitreedden voor Deurhofs Job*, saakelyk dus uytgesproken, in het repliecq door den heer advocaat Hermanus Noordkerk, ter zaake van appel, voor de volle bank der edele achtbare heeren schepenen der Stad Amsteldam. Van elf tot half twee uren, op Dingsdag 14 Mey 1743. Vermeerderd met two uytwydingen over de Arrianery en de eerstgeboorne, benevens het vonnis, en't verdrag tot afdoening der saak, met andere verschikkingen en byvoegsels, door den toehoorder, en in drukgever, Eysbrant Nergens. Hebbende de eerste druk beschaafd, en meest gevolgd in den tweeden druk, met verbetering van wel 300 fouten. Harlingen: Folkert van der Plaats, 1746. Portrait, [1] l., 48 p. 19 ½ cm.

Wilhelm Deurhof (1650–1717) was a Dutch layman whose theological books (van der Linde, nos. 190–207), representing a strange blend of rationalism and mysticism, were the cause of controversy for over sixty years. He and his followers were accused of Spinozistic leanings and rumor had it that he owned a manuscript copy of Spinoza's *Ethica* two years before publication.

In 1741, a book of his was posthumously published entitled *Het voorbeeld van verdraagzaamheid onder de goddelyke bezoeken, vertoond in de uitlegging en verklaring van het boek Jobs*. During its printing the authorities of Amsterdam confiscated the second part of the book. A legal suit ensued. *Pleitreedden* contains the arguments in favor of Deurhof's *Job* as presented by the attorney Herman Noordkerk (1702–1771) before a jury of Amsterdam citizens. The story of the confiscation is told on pp. 43 ff. Noordkerk, a great trial lawyer, shows that the prohibitions of 1674 and 1678 against Spinoza's *Tractatus* and *Opera posthuma* which the authorities had cited (36, 259, 305), were not applicable to Deurhof's *Job* (pp. 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 26, 27, 29, 31).

The book contains a portrait of Taco Hajo van den Honert by Houbracken; van den Honert was one of the adversaries of Deurhof.

1747

- 412 Argens, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d'. *La philosophie du bon-sens, ou reflexions philosophiques sur l'incertitude des connoissances humaines, à l'usage des cavaliers & du beau-sexe*. Nouvelle edition, revûë, corrigée & augmentée d'un

examen critique des remarques de Mr. l'Abbé d'Olivet . . . sur la théologie des philosophes grecs. . . The Hague: Pierre Paupie, 1747. 2 vols. Portrait, frontispiece, [1] l., 12, 480 p.; 468 p. 16 cm.

See my notes on the first edition, 1737 (341).

- 413 **Brucker**, Johann Jacob. *Institutiones historiae philosophicae usui academicae iuventutis adornatae*. Leipzig: Bernard Christoph Breitkopf, 1747. [12] l., 730 p., [8] l. 20 cm.

Johann Jacob Brucker (1696–1770) was a German Protestant minister, whose *Historia critica philosophiae* (1742 ff.) was the first attempt to write a comprehensive critical history of philosophy (508). The *Institutiones* is a condensation of this 5 volume-work; it was used for many years as a textbook in German universities. The sections on Spinoza and the Spinozists (pp. 675–679) present a relatively objective, though in no way novel, account.

- 414 **Edelmann**, Johann Christian. *Schuldigstes Dancksagungs-Schreiben an den Herrn Probst Suessmilch vor dessen, ihm unbewusst erzeugte Dienste*. (Berlin), 1747. 31 p. 16 ½ cm.

In this pamphlet Johann Christian Edelmann (357) defends himself against Johann Peter Suessmilch's *Die Unvernunft und Bosheit des beruechtigten Edelmanns*, 1747 and 1748 (431). Edelmann asks to be judged not by his early writings, such as his *Moses* of 1740 (376) which Suessmilch dissected, but by his later publications, particularly his *Abgenoethigtes . . . Glaubens-Bekenntnis*, 1746 (410). He apologizes for the lack of respect he had shown for the authorities and expresses regret about his excessive manner of writing.

Although Edelmann, eager not to be deprived of his permit to stay in Berlin, treads softly, the authorities were not impressed and confiscated the booklet. All of Edelmann's writings are extremely rare, but the *Dancksagungs-Schreiben* was already a rarity shortly after its publication; see *Des berechtigten Johann Christian Edelmanns Leben und Schriften*, 1750, p. 26 (438).

- 415 **Freye** doch unmassgebliche Gedancken und Erinnerungen ueber die bisherigen Streit-Schriften wieder den Herrn Edelmann ihm und seinen Gegnern zur Ueberlegung und der vernuenfftigen Welt zur Beurtheilung vorgeleget von einigen unpartheyischen Liebhabern der reinen Wahrheit. N.p., 1747. 44 p. 17 ½ cm.

This pamphlet is a wild denunciation of the authors who wrote against Johann Christian Edelmann (357) extending from this limited objective into an all-

out attack against the impostors who call themselves clergy. Siding with most every one of Edelmann's teachings, the anonymous author praises Edelmann, whom he seemingly knew, for his honesty, true love of God, heroic courage and willingness to suffer for the sake of truth. Spinoza is praised in glowing terms. He may have come up with some erroneous notions due to his trying to combine Cartesian and Cabalistic philosophy, but his ideas of God were true and great and his quiet, virtuous and selfless conduct of life ought to assure him the love and esteem of men (pp. 9 f.).

Johann Hinrich Pratje, (*Historische Nachrichten von Joh. Chr. Edelmanns . . . Leben*), 1755, p. 199 (475) and Johann Anton Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, 1759, p. 254 (489) ascribe this pamphlet, which was confiscated and prohibited by the authorities, to Johann Heinrich Pott (1692–1777), chemist and member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, whose sympathies for the Berleburg circle of the "Inspired" were known. The same Trinius on p. 293 of the same book names an otherwise unidentified Christ. Gottlieb as author. Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten, who reviewed the booklet in his *Nachrichten von einer hallischen Bibliothek*, vol. 1, pp. 252 ff. (434), prefers not to rely on rumors as to the identity of the author.

See also my notes on *Zuverlaessige Nachricht*, 1747 (421).

- 416 [**Gaultier**, Jean-Baptiste]. *Le poème de Pope, intitulé: Essay sur l'homme, con vaincu d'impieté. Lettres pour prémunir les fidèles contre l'irréligion*. The Hague, 1747. [1] l., 138 p. 17 cm.

Jean-Baptiste Gaultier (1685–1755), for some time the theological adviser of Archbishop Colbert of Montpellier, turned totally antiphilosophic when he moved to Paris. Pope was his first target, to be joined a few years later by Montesquieu.

Gaultier is disturbed that reviewers, and among them even Catholic theologians, regard Pope as a "Christian philosopher" and find in his *Essay on man* laudable sentiments. Aware of predecessors who hewed to the same line (369), Gaultier sets out to show that Pope proposes the same principles and uses the same language as decidedly impious writers (p. 49), and, specifically, that Spinoza is Pope's source. Quoting Spinoza copiously, Gaultier arrives at the conclusion that Pope's "All is good in nature," the role he allows self-love, the place he assigns to religious cult, his theory that fear is at the heart of superstition, his idea of God and his assertion that the beings of the universe could not have been created in any other manner than they actually were, all flowed from Spinoza (pp. 49–96, 124). In fact, Gaultier concludes that in some instances Pope's opinions are more pernicious than Spinoza's.

- 417 **Holberg**, Ludwig. Juedische Geschichte von Erschaffung der Welt bis auf gegenwaertige Zeiten. Aus dem Daenischen ins Deutsche uebersetzt von Georg August Detharding. Altona und Flensburg: Gebrueder Korte, 1747. 2 vols. Portrait, [13] l., 714 p.; [6] l., 719 p. 20 1/2 cm.

Among the scores of books authored by Ludwig Holberg (1684–1754), the Danish polyscriptor, is this bland didactic compilation of a Jewish history. It contains (vol. 2, pp. 681–685) an uninteresting, generally friendly account of the life and works of Spinoza and his adversary Isaac Orobio de Castro (145).

- 418 **Meier**, Georg Friedrich. Rettung der Ehre der Vernunft wider die Freygeister. Halle: Carl Hermann Hemmerde, 1747. [4] l., 312 p. 17 1/2 cm.

Georg Friedrich Meier (1718–1777), a follower of Wolff who taught philosophy at the University of Halle, presents in this book a refutation of the anti-religious *Examen de la religion, dont on cherche l'éclaircissement de bonne foy* and precedes it with a lengthy compendium of his ideas on the freedom of thought and speech.

Meier is an enlightener in a very restricted sense. For political reasons he favors the prohibition by the authorities of any public exposition of freethought. No wonder then, that he reproaches the translator of Spinoza's *Ethica* for publishing it even though the translation appeared together with Wolff's refutation (698). He considers it "thoughtless and dangerous, and therefore unwise and sinful" to publicize too much the writings of freethinkers and their refutations (pp. 95, 108 f.).

- 419 **Polignac**, Melchior de. Anti-Lucretius, sive de Deo et natura, libri novem . . . Opus posthumum; illustrissimi abbatis Caroli d'Orleans de Rothelin cura & studio editioni mandatum. Paris: Hyppolyte-Louis and Jacques Guerin, 1747. 2 vols. [1] l., portrait, [1] l., 30 p., [2] l., p. 1–180; [2] l., p. 181–450. 22 cm.

Melchior de Polignac (1661–1742), a French cardinal and diplomat, wrote this long Latin didactic poem to disprove the materialistic philosophies in the Lucretian tradition. The book, a bestseller for many years and in many languages (447, 462, 483, 484), refutes Spinoza's system much along the lines of Bayle's reasoning (pp. 26, 114–117, 173, 218).

- 420 **Wagner**, Georg Thomas. Johann Christian Edelmanns, Verblendete Anblicke, des Moses mit aufgedecktem Angesicht, nach ihrer wahren Beschaffenheit vorgestellt. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Fleischer, 1747. 2 vols. [16] l., 461, [2] p.; [3] l., 536 p. 17 1/2 cm.

Georg Thomas Wagner, a Protestant minister in a small town near Frankfurt, regarded Edelmann's *Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesicht*, 1740 (376) as "the con-

fluence of all the greatest errors." Because it fuses the horrors of Spinoza with the dangerous assertions of Hobbes, Knutzen, Boehme, Collins, and Toland, and because its prohibition had not resulted in its disappearance but merely made it a high-priced item at book auctions (preface to part 1), Wagner decided to write his detailed attack; a third volume appeared in 1748.

Part 1 contains a short biography of Edelmann and a list of his writings (preface). Spinoza's interpretation of biblical history as mythical tales is rejected (pp. 444, 449 ff.). Part 2 is largely devoted to a refutation of the "mad" teachings of Matthias Knutzen and Spinoza. The *Chartequen* of Knutzen are reprinted in full (pp. 99–106, 233–241) (19); Spinozism and its adaptation by Edelmann are discussed on pp. 403–536.

- 421 **Zuverlaessige** Nachricht von des Herrn Edelmanns Aufenthalt in Berlin. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1747. 24 p. 17 cm.

The anonymous author of this pasquil is no friend of Edelmann (357). Referring to Edelmann's arrival in Berlin in the fall of 1747, he reveals the purpose of the trip. Edelmann, he writes, suffered from spells of dizziness and came to see a physician. The doctor prescribed a metallic arcanum which created such a paroxysm that his *glandula pinealis* burst. Thereupon Edelmann as Don Quixote and his doctor as Sancho Panza, accompanied by other people infected in like manner, marched to the outskirts of Berlin and fought against an oak tree and a stack of wooden boards as if they were a clergyman and the Bible.

The doctor may be a caricature of Johann Heinrich Pott, the Berlin chemist known for his work with bismuth. Johann Hinrich Pratje, who ascribed to Pott the authorship of *Freye doch unmassgebliche Gedancken*, 1747 (415), so hints.

1748

- 422 **Abbadie**, Jacques. Beweiss von der Wahrheit und Gewissheit der christlichen Religion, worinnen nicht nur die Existenz Gottes, auch dass die Schrift Gottes Wort und Jesus der wahre Messias sey, bewiesen, . . . sondern auch denen Einwuerfen, so die Atheisten, Naturalisten, Deisten, Juden, Schwachglaebigen & dagegen machen koennen, sattsam begegnet wird. Aus dem Frantzoesischen . . . uebersetzt (von C. L. Bilderbeck), und mit Anmerckungen vieler neuer Auctorum erlaeutert . . . Leipzig: Gross, 1748. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [19] l., 536 p., [8] l.; frontispiece, [11] l., 388 p., [6] l. 20 1/2 cm.

The German translation of Abbadie's *Traité de la religion chrétienne* (49).

- 423 **Acker**, Johannes Friedrich. . . . Observationes miscellae de pantheismo. . . . Strasbourg: Melchior Pauschinger, (1748). 28 p. 19 1/2 cm.

This dissertation presents a quick run-down of pantheism. It stays mostly with the ancient Greek writers whose similarities to Spinoza are duly noted (pp. 9, 11, 14, 19, 21) and concludes with a consideration of Spinoza as the great architect of pantheism (pp. 23–25).

- 424 **Coste**, Pierre. *Histoire de Louis de Bourbon, second du nom, Prince de Condé, et premier prince du sang. Contenant ce qui s'est passé en Europe depuis 1640, jusques en 1686. inclusivement . . . Troisième édition, revue, corrigée & augmentée par l'auteur.* The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1748. 2 vols. Portrait, [1] l., portrait, [4] l., p. 1–192; portrait, [1] l., p. (193)–394, [9] l. 24 ½ cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1694 (98).

- 425 **Edelmann**, Johann Christian. *Das Evangelium St. Harenbergs.* [Altona], 1748. 108 p. 17 cm.

This book by Johann Christian Edelmann (351) was prompted by an article in *Altonaische Gelehrte Zeitungen* of 1747, which contained a report on Edelmann's life and an announcement of *Die gerettete Religion*, a book against Edelmann by the Braunschweig Probst Johann Christoph Harenberg (427). Edelmann mistakenly assumed that the article was written by Harenberg and defended himself in *Das Evangelium St. Harenbergs*. Other copies show the year 1747. Edelmann, whom the writer of the *Altonaische Gelehrte Zeitungen* had denounced as Spinozist, Atheist and Pantheist, proudly confesses to being a Spinozist, which to him is a name of honor (see, in particular, pp. 8–10, 45).

- 426 **Grundig**, Christoph Gottlob. *Geschichte und wahre Beschaffenheit derer heutigen Deisten und Freydencker, worinne besonders von dem Leben, Schrifften, Nachfolgern und Gegnern des berühmten und gelehrten englischen Lords Edoard Herbert de Cherbury & als deren Vorgaengers und Anfuehrers, gehandelt wird, aus seinen eignen Schrifften und vielen besondern Nachrichten zusammen getragen, und mit noethigen Anmerckungen erlaeutert.* Coethen: Johann Christoph Coerner, 1748. [8] l., 126 p. 18 cm.

To Christoph Gottlob Grundig, a German Lutheran minister, Herbert of Cherbury is the leader of the deists and freethinkers. Christian Kortholt in his *De tribus impostoribus magnis*, 1680 (39) treated Herbert of Cherbury as an equal of Spinoza, but, says Grundig, in fact and fairness he is not (pp. 47, 64 ff., 86 f.). Spinoza is not a freethinker or deist, but a naturalist and atheist (p. 4 f.).

- 427 **H[arenberg]**, J[ohann] C[hristoph]. *Zwey Religions-Spoetter Celsus und Edelmann, nach der Aehnlichkeit und Unaehnlichkeit ihres Lehrbegriffs,*

und der Ungleichheit beyder mit dem Inhalte der christlichen Lehre des Origenis, als eine eigne Abhandlung erwogen und dargestellt, mithin zur Rettung der Wahrheit und Befestigung der christlichen Religion in der Form eines Sendschreibens herausgegeben von J.C.H. Leipzig, 1748. 72 p. 17 cm.

In 1747, the Braunschweig Probst and orientalist Johann Christoph Harenberg (1696–1774) became involved in controversy with Johann Christian Edelmann (425). In this new attack on Edelmann he denounces him as a blasphemer like Celsus. The motto of the book is a quotation from Baumgarten's *Nachrichten von einer hallischen Bibliothek*, 1748 (434) stating that Edelmann's writings do not contain anything new but are merely the warmed-up statements and opinions of Spinoza presented with more insolence, passion and vulgarity.

- 428 **Maclaurin**, Colin. *An account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries, in four books. . . .* Published from the author's manuscript papers, by Patrick Murdoch . . . London: Printed for the author's children: and sold by A. Millar, etc., 1748. [14] l., 20, 392 p.; plates. 30 cm.

Colin Maclaurin (1698–1746) was a Scottish mathematician, one of the first rank trained in Britain in the 18th century, and a close personal friend of Newton. After his death his friends arranged for his *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries* to be published as a special subscription edition for the benefit of the author's children.

Maclaurin, treating Spinoza as a Cartesian (pp. 73–78), shows that Newton overthrew the foundations of Spinoza's doctrine by proving that a vacuum exists and that matter occupies but a very small portion of space. Other references to Spinoza are found on pp. 17, 85, 94 f.

Other editions appeared in 1750 and 1775 (439, 541) and a French translation in 1749 (436).

- 429 **Meier**, Georg Friedrich. *Vertheidigung der christlichen Religion, wider Herrn Johann Christian Edelmann.* Halle: Carl Hermann Hemmerde, 1748. 278 p. 17 ½ cm.

Georg Friedrich Meier (418) offers in this book a philosophical refutation of John Christian Edelmann's *Glaubens-Bekenntniss* of 1746 (410). He stresses that he writes as a philosopher and not as a theologian and that, as an unbiased lover of truth, he acknowledges Edelmann's personal virtues and, to a degree, his scholarly faculties.

Edelmann aped Spinoza, says Meier, but he never reached the intellectual excellence of his master (pp. 26 f.). Edelmann's concept of God equals Spinoza's; both are monstrous and without reason (pp. 102 ff.). Edelmann's argument that

there cannot be atheists is fraudulent; Spinoza himself is the very proof of their existence (pp.127 ff.).

- 430 **Ramsay**, André-Michel de. The philosophical principles of natural and revealed religion. (Vol. [1]: Unfolded in a geometrical order.). Glasgow: Robert Foulis, 1748. 2 vols. 5, 8, 541 p.; 462, [2] p. 19 cm.

The philosophical principles was published after Ramsay's death (264). The first part of the posthumous work, obviously in imitation of Spinoza, is developed in geometric order. It discusses Spinoza throughout, refutes his most important positions, and ends, pp.497–541, with an appendix "containing a refutation of the first book of Spinoza's Ethics; by which the whole structure is undermined." Spinoza's definitions, axioms and propositions are "equivocal, sophistical or false" which means that his system built upon them is equally unfounded and false, an "abyss of impiety."

- 431 **Suessmilch**, Johann Peter. Die Unvernunft und Bosheit des beruechtigten Edelmanns durch seine schaedliche Vorstellung des obrigkeitlichen Amts aus seinem Moses dargethan und zu aller Menschen Warnung vor Augen gelegt. Berlin: A. Haude und Joh. Carl Spener, 1748. 150 p. 17 cm.

Johann Peter Suessmilch (1707–1767), high-ranking Protestant minister in Berlin — and also one of the greatest figures in the history of statistics, wrote this book to refute Johann Christian Edelmann, who had appeared in Berlin and begun to propagate his ideas (421); other copies of Suessmilch's book show the year 1747. Suessmilch uses the third volume of Edelmann's *Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesichte*, 1741 (376) to show that Edelmann despises the authorities and incites to resistance and revolt. Edelmann, says Suessmilch, proudly relies on Spinoza, but Spinoza never taught ideas as stupid as Edelmann's (pp.85–88). Edelmann hit back at Suessmilch in his *Schuldigstes Danksagungs-Schreiben* (414).

- 432 **Wynpersse**, Dyonysius van de. Dissertatio philosophica inauguralis, De legum dei physicarum et moralium harmonia. . . . Utrecht: Joannes Broedelet, 1748. [2] l., 59, [3] p. 21 cm.

The *prolegomena* of this dissertation contains a classification and grading of "libertinism." Spinoza and the Spinozists, Hattem, Leenhof and Deurhof form a special class inasmuch as they do not consider human nature capable of receiving and executing moral laws (pp.4 f.).

- 433 **Wagner**, Friedrich. Die Wahrheit und Goettlichkeit der H. Schrift und christl. Religion. Wieder Johann Christian Edelmanns vornehmste Getichte und Ein-

wuerfe durch Beleuchtung eines einigen Haupt-Spruchs Heil. Schrift vorlaeufig gerettet. Hamburg: Carl Samuel Geissler, 1748. 3 vols. [7] l., p. 3–100, [1] l., 382 p.; 16, 552 p.; 24, 552 p. 19 cm.

Friedrich Wagner (1693–1760), a Protestant minister in Hamburg, played an important role in the controversies between Pietists and Wolffian philosophers. The three volumes of his refutation of Johann Christian Edelmann's writings, greatly praised by his contemporaries as one of the most comprehensive critiques, are mainly directed against *Unschuldige Wahrheiten*, 1738 (357); *Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesichte*, 1740 (376); *Die Goettlichkeit der Vernunft*, 1743 (398); and *Glaubens-Bekenntniss*, 1746 (410).

Wagner pictures Edelmann as a Spinozist and atheist (vol. I, p. 86), who blindly accepted Spinoza's concept of God (p. 91). In fact, in some respects he was more radical than Spinoza, for example in his discussion of the authorship of the Pentateuch (pp. 381 f.).

- 434 **Baumgarten**, Siegmund Jacob]. . . Nachrichten von einer hallischen Bibliothek. . . . Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1748–1751. 8 vols. (48 issues). [4] l., 572 p., [5] l.; 577, [13] p.; [1] l., 563, [11] p.; [1] l., 562 p.; [1] l., 548 p., [7] l.; [1] l., 549, [11] p.; [1] l., 558 p., [7] l.; [1] l., 550 p., [7] l. 18 ½ cm.

Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten (1706–1757) was professor of theology at Halle where he applied the method of Wolffian philosophy to theology. He was a book collector of high rank and the books which he described and analyzed in the *Nachrichten* — only a few were reviewed by others — were from his own vast library.

The first volume contains reviews of Spinoza's first book (pp. 47–58); the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (pp. 58–69); its French translations of 1678 (686–689), (pp. 69–74). Baumgarten is among the first to note that the Latin edition of 1674 was distributed in England); *Opera posthuma* (pp. 103–115); the German translation of the *Ethica* of 1744 (698) (pp. 115–116); Bredenburg's *Enervatio Tractatus theologico-politici*, 1675 (21) (pp. 117–121); Kuyper [Cuperus], *Arcana atheismi*, 1676 (24) (pp. 122–131); Fénelon, etc., *Réfutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza*, 1731 (315) (pp. 132–140); Cuffeler, *Specimen artis ratiocinandi*, 1684 (50) (pp. 141–148); and Freye . . . *Gedanken und Erinnerungen ueber die bisherigen Streit-Schriften wieder den Herrn Edelmann*, 1747 (415) (pp. 252–266).

The third volume contains analyses of two pseudo-Spinozana, *Lucii Antistii Constantis de iure ecclesiasticorum*, 1675 (1) (pp. 25–35) and Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, 1666 (6) (pp. 113–123); and of Toland's *Letters to Serena*, 1704 (149) (pp. 302–310). Parts of *De tribus impostoribus* (665, 667) and a refutation are appended (pp. 554–561).

Samuel Clarke's *Works* containing his "A discourse concerning the being

and attributes of God" (189) are reviewed in vol. 4, pp. 334 ff. Vol. 5, pp. 388–393 includes a discussion of Hendrik Wyermars' *Den ingebeelde chaos*, 1710; vol. 8 reviews the Wertheim Bible, 1735 (332) (pp. 1–18) and the Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 1693 (pp. 65 f.).

1749

- 435 [Condillac, Etienne Bonnot de]. *Traité des systèmes, où l'on en démêle les inconveniens & les avantages. Par l'auteur de l'Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines*. The Hague: Neaulme, 1749. 2 vols. [4] l., p. 1–228; [2] l., p. (229)–449, [1] p. 16 ½ cm.

Etienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715–1780), French empiricist, was originally a follower of Locke, then in his later writings became the protagonist of new psychological theories. His *Traité* is directed against the abstract constructions in the systems of Malebranche, Spinoza and Leibnitz. Chapter 10, pp. 229–353, contains the refutation of Spinoza. His method is subjected to radical scrutiny and found to be false and empty. Spinoza, says Condillac, was bound to arrive at ridiculous results since he based his demonstrations on a method, removed from reality, which merely juggled pure abstractions.

- 436 Maclaurin, Colin. *Exposition des découvertes philosophiques de M. le Chevalier Newton . . . Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglois par M. Lavirotte. . .* Paris: Durand, etc., 1749. 57, [3], 422 p., [1] l.; plates. 25 cm.

French translation of Maclaurin's *An account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries* 1748 (428).

- 437 Nicéron, Jean Pierre. *Nachrichten von den Begebenheiten und Schriften berühmter Gelehrten mit einigen Zusätzen herausgegeben von Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten* (vol. 16–22: herausgegeben von Friedrich Eberhard Rambach). Halle: Christoph Peter Francke, 1749–1762. 22 vols. 17 cm.

Jean Pierre Nicéron (1685–1738), a French Barnabite monk and historian of literature and scholarship, is the author of *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, forty-two volumes of biographies of outstanding men of letters published in Paris from 1729 to 1741. Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten (434) translated and edited the German edition which, in its first volume, pp. 265–283, contains the Spinoza articles of vols. 13 and 20 of the French edition.

Nicéron is no blind copyist. He utilizes, though with considerable apprehension, Lucas' biography in the tenth volume of the *Nouvelles littéraires*, rarely

noticed by others; he compares conflicting reports and shows altogether at least the beginning of an objective critical sense in blending the ingredients of his Spinoza biography from the sources known in his day.

1750

- 438 Des berichtigten Johann Christian Edelmanns, *Leben und Schriften, dessen Geburt und Familiae, welcher zu Weissenfels gebohren und in Jena Theologiam studiret, solche aber verlassen; dargegen die Spoetterey der christlichen Religion, der heiligen Schrift und der Geistlichkeit ergriffen*. Frankfurt, 1750. 44 p. 17 cm.

This early biography and bibliography of Johann Christian Edelmann (357) remained unknown to Johann Hinrich Pratje's *Historische Nachrichten von Joh. Chr. Edelmanns . . . Leben*, 1753 and 1755 (458, 475) which claims to list the entire contemporary Edelmann literature. To the anonymous author of this rare little book, who in spite of an occasional strong word against Edelmann appears to be a sympathizer, Edelmann is the "revived Spinoza" who renewed Spinoza's teachings and even imitated his way of living (pp. 34 ff.).

- 439 Maclaurin, Colin. *An account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries . . . Published from the author's manuscript papers, by Patrick Murdoch . . .* The second edition. London: A. Millar, 1750. [5] l., 26; 412 p.; plates. 20 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1748 (428).

- 440 [Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat]. *Défense de L'esprit des loix, a laquelle on a joint quelques éclaircissemens. . .* Geneva: Barillot & fils, 1750. 207 p. 16 cm.

In his *opus magnum*, *De l'esprit des loix*, Charles Louis de Montesquieu (1689–1755), the great French political theorist and philosopher, attempts to relate the laws of the state to the forces shaping society. The laws, in Montesquieu's view, are not statutes expressly ordained by God nor the conscious creation of men, but necessary relations stemming from the nature of things. Montesquieu's book appeared first in 1748. A year later, on October 9 and 16, the Jansenist *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* ou *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Constitution Unigenitus* published a critique written by Abbé Jacques Fontaine de la Roche who accused Montesquieu of propounding ideas leading straight into Spinoza's heresies (456). In reply, Montesquieu wrote his *Défense de l'esprit des loix*.

The gist of his defense is that when he spoke of "necessity" he did not mean Spinoza's determinism; that he analyzed effects but did not speak of their

causes; and that natural religion ascribed to him, far from being Spinozism, is the best instrument to destroy Spinozism. Fontaine de la Roche replied to the *Défense* in his *Réponse à la Défense de l'esprit des loix* (452).

- 441 **Weislinger**, Johann Nikolaus. Ausserlesene Merckwuerdigkeiten, von alten und neuen theologischen Marckschreyeren, Taschen-Spielern, Schleichern, Winckel-Predigern, falschen Propheten, Blinden-Fuehreren, Splitter-Richtern, Balcken-Traegeren, Mucken-Seigern, Cameel-Schluckern, und dergleichen, etc. . . . zweyte verbesserte Aufg. Augsburg und Freiburg: Martin Wagner und Sohn, 1750. 4 vols. Frontispiece, [5] l., 120, 723, [63] p.; [1] l., 635, [57] p.; [1] l., 770 p., [29] l.; [1] l. 607, [60] p. Plates, 16 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1738 (366).

- 442 **Wolf**, Johann Baltasar. Der Zweifel: ob die Bibel ein wahrhaftiges oder verfaelschtes Buch sey? wird nach Beschaffenheit einer christlichen Gemeinde zu Goettingen untersucht und gehoben; worinnen zugleich die Edelmännischen Religions-Spoettereyen wohl geprüfet und gruendlich widerleget werden. Nuernberg und Altdorf: Lorenz Schuepfel, 1750. 32 p. 18 ½ cm.

In this sermon, Johann Baltasar Wolf, a Protestant pastor in Southern Germany, demonstrates that the Bible is a book of truth and not a fraud. The heresies of Johann Christian Edelmann (357, 358, 376, 398, 410, 414, 425) are duly condemned.

1751

- 443 **Catalogue** des livres de Monsieur le president Crozat de Tugny. Dont la vente qui se fera au commencement du mois d'août 1751, au plus offrant et dernier enchérisseur, sera indiquée par affiches. Paris: Thiboust, 1751. 16, 472 p. 19 ½ cm.

As many other private libraries of 18th century France, that of the art collector Crozat de Tugny (1696–1740), president of the *parlement de Paris*, contained works by Spinoza (nos. 283 and 284).

- 444 **[Charpentier, Louis]**. Lettres critiques, sur divers écrits de nos jours, contraires à la religion & aux mœurs. London, 1751. 2 vols. [2] l., 15, [1], 175 p.; [2] l., 221 p. 16 cm.

Little is known about the author, Louis Charpentier. A French litterateur and critic, author of many books in greatly diverse fields, he was still alive in 1776. The *Lettres critiques* is a motley of letter essays on various rather unconnected subjects of historical or contemporary interest, such as: the characteristics of

Frenchmen, of Romans, the education of children, suicide, women, etc. Volume 2, pp. 149–221, contains a comparatively detailed life of Spinoza, a resume of Spinoza's system and a refutation of his teachings, the latter being the weakest of Charpentier's exercises on Spinoza. As Charpentier explains, he devoted so much space to Spinoza because many people were talking about him without truly understanding his philosophical tenets.

- 445 **D., J.A.** Alphabethische naamlyst der voornaamste ketteren, en vreemde gezindheden, die zig zoo in vroegere als latere eeuwen hebben opgedaan. Nevens eene beschryving der Albigenen, Waldensen, Boheemsche broeders, enz. . . . Dordrecht: Abraham Blusse en Jakobus van Hoogstraten, 1751. [2] l., 463 p. 15 cm.

Relying greatly on Bayle's *Dictionaire* (117) and Kortholt's *De tribus impostoribus magnis* (39, 139), the author of this lexicon of heretics, a candidate of theology in Leiden, put together an article on Spinoza and his followers (pp. 367–376) in which there is neither a new fact nor new idea.

See also my notes on the edition of 1755 (468).

- 446 **Joecher**, Christian Gottlieb. Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon, darinne die Gelehrten aller Staende sowohl maenn-als-weiblichen Geschlechts, welche vom Anfange der Welt bis auf ietzige Zeit gelebt, und sich der gelehrten Welt bekannt gemacht, nach ihrer Geburt, Leben, merckwuerdigen Geschichten, Absterben und Schrifften aus den glaubwuerdigsten Scribenten in alphabethischer Ordnung beschrieben werden. Vierter Theil S–Z. . . . Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1751. [2] l., 2250 cols., [2] l. 26 cm.

The Spinoza article in this greatly enlarged edition has been revised and augmented by Joecher. In the earlier edition of this lexicon of scholars (284) Joecher listed as his sources Benthem, *Hollaendischer Kirch-und-Schulen-Staat*, 1698 (121); *Acta eruditorum*; Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen-und-Ketzer-Historie*, 1699–1700 (130); and Bayle, *Dictionaire* (117). The present version lists the *Acta*; Bayle; Nicéron, *Mémoires* (437); and Wolf, *Bibliotheca ebraea*, 1715 ff. (228).

- 447 **Polignac**, Melchior de. Anti-Lucrezio overro di Dio e della natura libri nove. Opera postuma . . . Di latino trasportata in verso sciolto italiano da Don Francesco-Maria Ricci. . . . Verona: Agostino Carattoni, 1751. 2 vols. 35, [4], 526 p., 3 portraits; [1] l., 504 p. 20 ½ cm.

Bi-lingual edition in Latin and Italian of Polignac's *Anti-Lucretius* (419).

- 448 **[Thourneyser]**. Lettre d'un philosophe dans laquelle on prouve que l'athéisme et le dereglement des mœurs ne sauroient s'établir dans le systeme de la nécessité. Geneva: Antoine Philibert, 1751. [2] l., 118 p. 15 ½ cm.

The book is a reprint from de Beaumont's *Magazin françois*. The otherwise unknown author, revealed in the *avertissement* to this book as a Mr. Thourneyser, proposes a philosophical "system of necessity" or "system of fatalism" compatible with the existence of God and ethics. He refutes the either-or implicit in Spinoza's system (pp. 79 ff.).

- 449 **Warburton**, William. Goettliche Sendung Mosis, aus den Grundsætzen der Deisten bewiesen . . . In die Sprache der Deutschen uebersetzt, und mit verschiedenen Anmerkungen versehen, von Johann Christian Schmidt. . . Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Gottlieb Vierling, 1751–1753. 3 vols. [8] l., 64 p., [6] l., 692 p.; [1] l., 38 p., [1] l., 549 p.; 40 p., [4] l., 557; [22] p. 19 ½ cm.

German translation of *The Divine Legislation of Moses*, 1738–1741 (368).

1752

- 450 **[Duhamel, Robert-Joseph]**. Lettres flamandes, ou histoire des variations & contradictions de la prétendue religion naturelle. Lille [Auxerre]: Danel, 1752. 129 p. 15 cm.

Robert-Joseph Duhamel (1700–1769) was a French writer engaged in many literary and philosophical controversies. Voltaire and Pope are the target of his *Lettres flamandes*, in which a Flemish letter writer — the Flemish are simple people with simple minds — questions the logic and utility of natural religion as represented by these writers.

The eleventh letter, pp. 103–117, on *Amour-propre* and *Loi naturelle*, asserts that Pope, in his *Essay on man*, makes reason the governor of the passions the way Spinoza did, and that, altogether, Pope took his understanding of liberty, natural law and man's character from Spinoza's detestable philosophy. In the next letter, p. 119, Duhamel calls on Pope to come forward, speak up and draw a clear line between himself and his translators and interpreters if the latter were to blame for his apparent leaning toward Spinozism.

See also my notes on the edition of 1753–1754 (455).

- 451 **F[rançois]**, L[aurant]. Preuves de la religion de Jesus-Christ, contre les Spinosistes et les deistes. . . Paris: La veuve Estienne & fils, etc., 1752. 4 vols. [2] l., 9, [7], 420 p.; [2] l., 5, [3], 306 p.; [2] l., 12, 568 p.; [2] l., 12, 552 p. 16 ½ cm.

Laurent François (1698–1782) was what the French call a *controversiste*. An unsophisticated apologist for the church, he wrote against the philosophes and their masters. What irritated him most in the writings of those who opposed the dogmas of his faith on philosophical grounds was the extreme com-

plexity of their arguments. Thus, he delights in citing in his four-volume work involved demonstrations of Spinoza, pointing out that their intricacy is proof of their absurdity (vol. 1, pp. 285 ff.). Spinoza's determinism, his concepts of substance and God are "unintelligible galimatias" (pp. 275 ff.) and his understanding of laws leads to the absolute lack of order (pp. 370 ff.). When it comes to proving the divinity of the Bible and of prophetic inspiration (vol. 2, pp. 87–114; vol. 3, pp. 20–42), François argues like an unfairly simplified Bossuet.

- 452 **Pieces** pour et contre L'esprit des loix. En trois parties. Geneva: Antoine Philibert, 1752. [1] l., p. 1–66; [1] l., p. 67–150, [1] l.; [1] l., 106 p. 17 cm.

This collection contains six writings prompted by Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des loix* and particularly his *Défense de L'esprit des loix*, 1750 (440). Some of them take up the issue of Spinozism which Abbé Jacques Fontaine de la Roche had introduced in his *Critique de L'esprit des loix* (456).

The "Réponse à la Défense de L'esprit des loix" (pp. 1–39), anonymously written by the abbé as a rebuttal to Montesquieu, reiterates with increased vehemence his accusation of Spinozism. Like Pope's, says Fontaine de la Roche, so Montesquieu's God is the God of Spinoza (pp. 6 ff.); his concept of the necessity in laws reveals the fatalism of Spinoza (pp. 12 ff.); and like Spinoza he pleads for freedom of thought and opinion (pp. 28 f.).

The "Remerciement sincère à un homme charitable" (pp. 40–45), attributed to Voltaire in the table of contents, defends Montesquieu against being a disciple of Pope and therefore like him a disciple of Spinoza (p. 41).

The anonymous "Suite de la Défense de L'esprit des loix, ou examen de la réplique du Gazetier ecclésiastique, à la Défense de L'esprit des loix" by Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle (1727–1773), pp. 67–150, is a spirited vindication of Montesquieu written by a writer with a sharp and temperamental pen. Invited to Berlin, La Beaumelle immediately engaged in battle with Voltaire, and upon his return to Paris, was imprisoned in the Bastille for literary calumny. His *Suite* represents quite a change from the dull fare offered by most of Montesquieu's defenders and detractors. Any brilliant book is suspect to the Jansenist gazetteers, writes La Beaumelle. Thus Montesquieu was destined to be accused as a Spinozist and deist regardless of what he said, even though he condemned atheism (pp. 120 ff.). Montesquieu, says La Beaumelle, upheld freedom of inquiry as should any good citizen and good Christian, but the fact that Spinoza too advocated freedom of thought is sufficient for the Jansenist ecclesiastics to condemn Montesquieu as a Spinozist (pp. 135 f.).

- 453 **Walch**, Johann Georg. Einleitung in die polemische Gottesgelahrtheit. Jena: Johann Rudolph Crocker seel. Witbe, 1752. [7] l., 1182 p., [13] l. 19 cm.

A refutation of Spinoza's atheism appears on pp.98–100. In it Johann Georg Walch (287) refers for more detailed information on anti-Spinozistic writers to his *Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten*, 1733–1736 (327).

- 454 [Wieland, Christoph Martin]. Die Natur der Dinge in sechs Buechern. Mit einer Vorrede Georg Friedrich Meiers. . . . Halle: Carl Hermann Hemmerde, 1752. [14] l., 164 p. 21 cm.

Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), the German poet, novelist and philosopher, developed in his works a philosophical attitude which combined the aestheticism of Shaftesbury and the freethought of the French *philosophes*. As a young man he wanted to become the “first successor to Spinoza, that is, a free-thinker by using his head and the most virtuous man in his heart.” Little of this goal is visible in his first book with the Lucretian title *Die Natur der Dinge* (The nature of things), a philosophical poem which describes human happiness as the purpose of creation. Georg Friedrich Meier (418) to whom the unknown youth had sent the manuscript, got it published. The references to Spinoza are anything but laudatory; they are either ambiguous (p.13 f.) or outright critical (p.69).

1753

- 455 [Duhamel, Robert-Joseph]. Lettres flamandes, ou histoire des variations & contradictions de la prétendue religion naturelle. [vol.1:] Lille [Auxerre]: Daniel, 1754; [vol.2:] Mons: Gaspar Migeot, 1753. 274 p. (continual pagination), [1] l. 14 cm.

Duhamel's *Lettres flamandes* appeared for the first time in 1752 (450). In this new edition, though it is not designated as such, a second part is added in which Duhamel attacks the Abbé Jean-Martin de Prades and rejects his *Apologie* of 1752 (see 459). Although the Abbé pretends to be hostile to Spinoza and his teachings, they are the source of his “system of society” (pp.202 and 251, see also pp.160, 235).

- 456 [La Roche, Jacques Fontaine de]. Critique de L'esprit des loix. Geneva: Barillot & fils, 1753. 28 p. 19 ½ cm.

This critique of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des loix* by Jacques Fontaine de La Roche (1688–1761), a Jansenist abbé, appeared first in the Jansenist *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Constitution Unigenitus*, October 9 and 16, 1749. He complains that the review of Montesquieu's “scandalous” book in the Jesuit *Journal de Trévoux* is weak, and attacks Montesquieu for basing his philosophy, which is bound to destroy Christianity, ethics and

government, on natural religion and, in the last analysis, on Spinoza's ideas. Montesquieu answered with his *Défense de L'esprit des loix* (440).

This reprint in book form is bound with some of the Geneva editions of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des loix*.

- 457 [Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat]. Defense de L'esprit des loix, a laquelle on a joint quelques éclaircissements. Geneva: Barillot & fils, 1753. 80 p. 19 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1750 (440).

- 458 Pratje, Johann Hinrich. Historische Nachrichten von Joh. Chr. Edelmanns, eines beruechtigten Religionsspoetters, Leben, Schriften und Lehrbegrif, wie auch von den Schriften, die fuer und wider ihn geschrieben worden. . . . Hamburg: Christian Wilhelm Brandt, 1753. [8] l., 275. [5] p. 16 cm.

This biography by Johann Hinrich Pratje, a minister and educator, of Johann Christian Edelmann (357), is especially valuable because of its detailed bibliography of works by and on the German Spinozist. It has remained a main source for biographers.

A corrected and enlarged edition appeared in 1755 (475).

- 459 Thesis Joannis-Martini de Prades, theologice discussa et impugnata. Paris: H.L. Guerin, etc., 1753. 9, [3], 552 p. 17 cm.

The Abbé Jean-Martin de Prades (1720–1782) was a friend of Diderot and a contributor to the *Encyclopédie*. In 1751 he submitted to the Sorbonne his thesis, to which that august body gave its approval. But when Diderot was suspected of being its author or having a share in the writing, the imprimatur was withdrawn, a reexamination was ordered and in 1752 the Abbé was condemned for having presented materialistic and atheistic ideas. Prades fled to Berlin where Voltaire welcomed him to the court of Frederick the Great. Two years later Prades retracted his “heresies”; he died an archdeacon in Glogau, Germany. The anonymous writer of the above discussion and refutation of Prades' thesis compares him to Spinoza. Like Spinoza in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Prades never openly denies the existence of God while striving to undermine divine authority (p.482).

- 460 Vogt, Johannes. Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum, jam curis quartis recognitus et copiosa accessione ex symbolis et collatione bibliophilorum per Germaniam doctissimorum adauctus. Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1753. [16] l., 736 p. 17 ½ cm.

Johannes Vogt's bibliography of rare books contains valuable information on Spinoza's books (pp.639–641) and Spinozana (*passim*).

1754

- 461 **Formey**, Johann Heinrich Samuel. *Mélanges philosophiques*. Leiden: Elie Luzac, 1754. 2 vols. 8 p., [1] l., 462 p.; [2] l., 422 p. 16 ½ cm.

Formey (387) criticizes Spinoza for his anthropomorphic idea of the infinite arrived at by infinite multiplication of the finite. The infinite, or God, should be *sui generis*, says Formey. Spinoza's God is not detached from the imperfections and limitations of finite things and, once this is clearly seen, his system, held indestructible by many, can easily be overthrown (vol. 1, pp. 432 ff.; see also p. 80).

- 462 **Polignac**, Melchior de. *L'anti-Lucrèce*, poème sur la religion naturelle . . . Traduit par M. De Bougainville. . . Paris: H. L. Guerin, etc., 1754. 2 vols. [2] l., 360 p., [2] l.; [2] l., 335 p. 15 cm.

French translation of Polignac's *Anti-Lucretius* (419).

- 463 **Reimarus**, Hermann Samuel. *Die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der naturlichen Religion in zehn Abhandlungen auf eine begreifliche Art erklæret und gerettet*. Hamburg: Johann Carl Bohn, 1754. [8] l., 688 p., [12] l. 17 ½ cm.

While secretly writing sharp denunciations of Christian religion (536), Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768), professor of Oriental languages and philosophy in Hamburg, showed himself considerably less radical in his published work. In *Die vornehmsten Wahrheiten*, Reimarus, clearly in the tone of Wolff's natural theology, proposes a deistic system, at the same time attacking the extremism of the French *philosophes* and materialists, as well as Spinoza's identification of substance and God (pp. 156–160; see also pp. 652 f.).

- 464 **Schmauss**, Johann Jacob. *Neues Systema des Rechts der Natur*. Goettingen: Vandenhoecks seel. Wittwe, 1754. [4] l., 535, 7 p. 17 ½ cm.

Johann Jacob Schmauss (1690–1757), a law professor at Goettingen and Halle, proposed in numerous works a natural law built on purely anthropological foundations. The first part of the *Systema* contains a history of natural law with excerpts from its important source books; Spinoza is amply quoted (pp. 276–296).

1755

- 465 [**Argens**, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d']. *Lettres chinoises, ou correspondance philosophique, historique & critique, entre un Chinois voyageur & ses correspondans à la Chine, en Moscovie, en Perse & au Japon*. Nouvelle édition, augmentée de nouvelles lettres & de quantité de remarques. The Hague: Pierre Paupie, 1755. 6 vols. [2] l., 306 p.; [2] l., 332 p.; [2] l., 338 p.; [2] l., 327 p.; [2] l., 332 p.; [2] l., 84 p., [2] l., 187 p. 14 cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1739–1740 (372).

- 466 **Baumgarten**, Siegmund Jacob. *Abris einer Geschichte der Religionsparteien, oder gottesdienstlichen Gesellschaften, und derselben Streitigkeiten sowol als Spaltungen, ausser und in der Christenheit*. . . Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauern, 1755. [5] l., 322 p., [34] l. 17 cm.

In this college textbook on the history of religions and their sects, Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten (434) classifies Spinoza as a pantheist and materialist belonging to the school of systematic and dogmatic atheists (p. 13 f.).

- 467 **Catalogue** des livres de la bibliotheque de Monsieur l'Abbé Delan, docteur et ancien professeur en théologie de la maison et société de Sorbonne, dont la vente commencera, Lundi 3 [corrected by old hand to read 17] Février 1755. . . Paris: Barrois, 1755. [1] l., 392 p. 20 cm.

The auction catalogue of the library of the Abbé François-Hyacinthe Delan (1672–1754), professor of theology at the Sorbonne, contains various editions of Spinoza's books, the pseudo-Spinozistic *Lucii Antistii de jure ecclesiasticorum* attributed here to Lodewijk Meyer (1), and some books on Spinoza (nos. 3065–3072).

- 468 [**D.**, J.A.]. *Historie der ketteren in eene alphabethische ordre geschikt, behelzende den oorsprongk en voortgang der voornaamste ketteren en vreemde gezindheden*. . . Dordrecht: Abraham Blusse, 1755. [2] l., 463 p. 16 cm.

This is the book *Alphabethische naamlyst der voornaamste ketteren*, 1751 (445), appearing with a new title page and a newly printed and unchanged preface, except that the author's initials were removed; the body of the book is of the printing of 1751.

- 469 **Gerdil**, Giacinto Sigismondo. *Introduzione allo studio della religione*. . . Volume primo. Turin: Stamperia reale, 1755. [12] l., 429, [1] p. 25 cm.

Giacinto Sigismondo Gerdil (1718–1802), a member of the Barnabite order and follower of Descartes, was a professor at the University of Turin and at Bologna; elected to most European academies he was made a cardinal in later years but refused to become pope. This introduction to the study of religion, of which only the first volume appeared, briefly characterizes Spinoza's *Ethica* as based on "nominal" terms which do not permit application to "realistic" definitions (p.149). An extensive elaboration of this critique is found in Gerdil's *Dissertazioni* of the same year (470).

- 470 [Gerdil, Giacinto Sigismondo]. *Dissertazioni sopra l'origine del senso morale, e sopra l'esistenza di Dio ec.* In dichiarazione di alquanti punti del primo volume della Introduzione allo studio della religione. Turin: Stamperia reale, 1755. [1] l., 95 p., [2] l., 96 p. 25 cm.

The two dissertations in this supplement to Gerdil's *Introduzione allo studio della religione*, 1755 (469), expand points made in the main work. The second, *Della esistenza di Dio, e della immaterialità delle nature intelligenti*, contains a "refutation of Spinoza's system" (pp.19–35) in which Gerdil dwells on the ambiguities in Spinoza's definition of substance and the axioms supporting it, and demonstrates that the universe cannot possess a necessary order (see also pp.56–60 and p.88).

- 471 [Gottsched, Johann Christoph]. *Historische Lebenschrift des weiland hochund wohlgebohrenen Herrn Christians, des H.R.R. Freyherrn von Wolf*. . . Halle: Rengerische Buchhandlung, 1755. Portrait, [4] l., 152, 108 p. 24 [2] ½ cm.

Johann Christoph Gottsched (359), Christian Wolff's most faithful disciple and publicist, was doubtless the fittest to write the paean about the master who had died in 1754. Though intended as a eulogy, the book was in fact the first attempt of a scholarly biography — that is scholarly in terms of its time.

Considerable space is given to a narration of the "persecutions" which Wolff suffered from the time he was banned from Prussia until his rehabilitation climaxed by his clearance from the accusation of atheism and Spinozism (pp.53–104). However, Gottsched reports, that as early as 1705, many years before his denunciation by Joachim Lange and his cohorts (273), Wolff had been called "a pure Spinozist" and an apologist for Spinoza. Possibly, Gottsched ventures, all Wolff had done to prompt this accusation was to repeat a statement by Walther Ehrenfried von Tschirnhausen (69) that Spinoza had not fused God and nature, but defined God more significantly than Descartes.

- 472 Hill, John. *Thoughts concerning God and nature*. In answer to Lord Bolingbroke's philosophy. London: Printed for the author, 1755. 7, 616 p. 25 ½ cm.

John Hill (ca.1716–1775) was an English litterateur and physician of somewhat dubious character. He wrote plays and novels as well as a monumental botanical work of twenty-six volumes and figured in many literary scandals.

His *Thoughts concerning God and nature*, a book privately printed, is offered to the public as a labor of love, coming from a man not in the church but revering the Scriptures. Parts of it are dedicated to a refutation of Bolingbroke's deism; others endeavor to deduce from reason the certainty of God against the "master writers" of the sect of atheists, namely Spinoza and Hobbes. Hill gives an account of the system of Spinoza (pp.251–260), merely the plain sum of his doctrine as acknowledged as such by friend and enemy, omitting the obscure and technical parts. Hill does not "examine nor answer his works" (pp.248–251). A superficial refutation of Spinoza lacking any original thought is the boring result (pp.290 ff., 333, 376–399).

- 473 Leland, John. *Abriß der vornehmsten deistischen Schriften, die in dem vorigen und gegenwaertigen Jahrhunderte in Engeland bekandt geworden sind; nebst Anmerkungen ueber dieselben und Nachrichten von den gegen sie herausgekommenen Antworten: in verschiedenen Briefen an einen guten Freund. Aus dem Englischen uebersetzt von Heinrich Gottlieb Schmid*. . . Hanover: Johann Wilhelm Schmid, 1755. 30, 12 p., [7] l., 632 p. 17 ½ cm.

German translation of John Leland's *A view of the principal deistical writers* (499).

- 474 [Mendelssohn, Moses]. *Philosophische Gespraechen*. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss, 1755. 108 p. 17 cm.

Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), the self-taught philosopher and critic, was one of the main figures of German enlightenment in Berlin. He asserts in this, his first, book that the concept of pre-established harmony originated not with Leibnitz but with Spinoza (pp.14–76). This is all the more astonishing since previously only enemies of Leibnitz such as Ruardus Andala and Joachim Lange had made this point, and Mendelssohn was one of the main proponents of the Leibnitz-Wolffian school. But to Mendelssohn, Spinoza was in no way a despicable character with whom any contact or similarity in thought must be avoided.

This book marks a milestone in the history of Spinozism because its author, a cautious bourgeois in life and thought, and an orthodox Jew, presents a vindication of Spinoza whom until then only heretics had praised and all Jews had shunned. "Before the transition from the Cartesian to the Leibnitzian philosophy could take place, somebody had to plunge into the immense chasm between them. This unhappy lot was Spinoza's. How much his fate is to be deplored! He was a sacrifice for the human intellect, a sacrifice which deserves to

be adorned with flowers. Without him philosophy could never have extended its frontiers so far." And, as Mendelssohn emphasizes, it was not a Christian who contributed so richly to the "improvement of philosophy" (pp.36 f.). This marks a new tone which will become stronger when Johann Friedrich Herder, Goethe and Schleiermacher enter the Spinoza discussion.

- 475 **Pratje**, Johann Hinrich. Historische Nachrichten von Joh. Chr. Edelmanns, eines beruechtigten Religionsspoetters, Leben, Schriften und Lehrbegrif, wie auch von den Schriften, die fuer und wider ihn geschrieben worden . . . Zwote verbesserte und sehr vermehrte Auflage. Hamburg: Christian Wilhelm Brandt, 1755. [7] l., 52, 376 p., [6] l. 16 cm.

Second corrected and much enlarged edition of Pratje's book on Johann Christian Edelmann, 1753 (458).

- 476 **Wolff**, Christian. Uebrig theils noch gefundene kleine Schriften und einzelne Betrachtungen zur Verbesserung der Wissenschaften. Halle: Rengerische Buchhandlung, 1755. Frontispiece, [5] l., 700 p. 20 ½ cm.

This collection appeared one year after the death of Christian Wolff (265). It contains, among many other items, reprints of the *Bedenken der Theologischen Fakultæt zu Tuebingen ueber die Wolfische Philosophie* (Doubts of the theological faculty of Tuebingen concerning the philosophy of Wolff) of 1725, the *Bedenken* of the same year of the philosophical faculty of the same university and Wolff's reply, all relating to the accusation of Spinozism which had been leveled at Wolff's philosophy (pp.171–207).

Published for the first time in this volume (pp.7–23) is the *Auszug der im 1723. Jahre entstandenen Streitigkeiten* (Digest of the controversies arisen in 1723), a synopsis of opinions of Wolff, Thomas Aquinas, Protestant theologians and Spinoza bearing on the controversial statements which Wolff's adversaries had considered Spinozistic.

- 477 [**Marsy**, François de and Jean-Baptiste **Robinet**]. Analyse raisonnée de Bayle, ou abrégé méthodique de ses ouvrages, particulièrement de son Dictionnaire historique et critique, dont les remarques ont été fondues dans le texte, pour former un corps instructif & agréable de lectures suivies. London: 1755–1770. 8 vols. 36, 428 (misprinted as 529) p.; [2] l., 4, 467 p.; 20, 482 p.; 20, 460 p.; [2] l., 181, [7], 300 p.; 20, 524 p.; [16], 460 p.; 16, 488 p. 16 cm.

The first four volumes of this work were edited by the Abbé François de Marsy and published in 1755; the last four, edited by the philosopher Jean-Baptiste Robinet (1735–1820), appeared in 1770. The seventh volume, pp.1–101, contains a simplified version, without the notes, of Bayle's famous Spinoza article from his *Dictionnaire* (117). Inserted at pp.65–85 is a chapter discussing whether Bayle

understood the doctrine of Spinoza in which Bayle is made to say that he understood it according to the consensus of most other adversaries of Spinoza and that, if there was any lack of comprehension, it was due to Spinoza's notorious ambiguity.

1756

- 478 **Argens**, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d'. Die Philosophie der gesunden Vernunft, oder philosophische Betrachtungen ueber die Ungewissheit der menschlichen Erkaentniss . . . Aus dem Franzoesischen . . . uebersetzt. Breslau und Leipzig: Daniel Pietsch, 1756. 2 vols. [11] l., 446 p.; [1] l., 446 p., [17] l. 19 cm.

German translation of *La philosophie du bon-sens* (341).

- 479 **Compendieuses** Kirchen-und Ketzer-Lexicon in welchem alle Ketzereyen und Secten, und deren Urheber und Stifter . . . beschrieben, darnebst auch viele zur Kirchen-Historie dienende Termini und Sachen angefuehret und erlaehret werden . . . herausgegeben . . . von M. J(ohann) G(ottfried) H(ering). Schneeberg: Carl Wilhelm Fuld, 1756. [6] l., 680 cols., [20] l. 17 cm.

Johann Gottfried Hering, a fundamentalist Protestant minister, states that he is not the author of this book. When this lexicon of sects and heretics was published for the first time, his initials appeared on the titlepage and people regarded him as its author. Willy-nilly, because he did not want to be blamed for the errors in the book, he undertook to issue corrected editions.

The articles on Spinoza and *Spinosistae* (cols. 587–589) are totally insignificant.

- 480 **Formey**, Johann Heinrich Samuel. Le triomphe de l'évidence . . . Tome 1. Avec un discours préliminaire de Mr. de Haller. (Tome 11. Avec un discours sur l'esprit philosophique). Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1756. 2 vols. [8] l., 72, 184 p.; 24, 260 p. 17 ½ cm.

Le triomphe de l'évidence, Formey (387) states in the preface, is a work of his young years, a popular condensation of Jean-Pierre de Crousaz' *Examen du Pyrrhonisme*, 1733 (324) rather than an original work. Formey bitterly and naively complains that some people, such as the publisher, objected to the unauthorized publication of the digest of another writer's book. In any event it eventually did appear, repeating Crousaz' views on the treatment of Spinoza by Bayle (vol. 2, pp.31, 48, 100).

- 481 [**Warton**, Thomas]. An essay on the writings and genius of Pope. London: M. Cooper (vol.1); J. Dodsley (vol.2), 1756–1782. 2 vols. 12, 334 p.; [1] l., 2, 495, [1] p. 20 cm.

Thomas Warton (1728–1790), English poet-laureate and professor of poetry at Oxford University, wrote this book to show that although Pope was not the greatest poet, he was a true and important poet. Reference is made (p. 179 ff.) to the *querelle* concerning Pope's Spinozism (369). Warton quotes a letter from Pope to Racine the younger in which he declared, strongly and with the greatest sincerity, that his sentiments were diametrically opposed to those of Spinoza, and even of Leibnitz.

1757

- 482 [Pluquet, François-André-Adrien], *Examen du fatalisme, ou exposition & refutation des différens systèmes de fatalisme qui ont partagé les philosophes sur l'origine du monde, sur la nature de l'ame, & sur le principe des actions humaines*. Paris: Didot, etc., 1757. 3 vols. [2] l., 20, 464 p.; [1] l., 532 p.; [2], 461, [3] p. 16 ½ cm.

François-André-Adrien Pluquet (1716–1790), French archbishop and professor, was a friend of Fontenelle, Montesquieu and Helvétius. His friendship with *philosophes* did not distract him from his preoccupation — searching for the philosophical roots of modern unbelief. Spinozism is denounced as the most dangerous form of monism; yet, when he analyzes Spinoza's principles (pp. 349–360) and the teachings of Spinoza's early adopters and converters, such as Bredenburg, Leenhof, Hattem and Wachter, he shows extensive first-hand knowledge combined with an objectivity of judgment rarely found in an 18th century priest writing on Spinozism. The introduction to the second volume states that all philosophical systems which recognize only one substance are founded on Spinozism. Spinoza's system, Pluquet says, was never convincingly refuted, a task which, quite different from the ways of his colleagues, he undertakes in this volume as one of strictly philosophical criticism.

- 483 Polignac, Melchior de. *L'anti-Lucrece. Poeme sur la religion naturelle* . . . traduit par M. de Bougainville. Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1757. 2 vols. [1] l., 368 p.; [1] l., 368 p. 14 cm.

A new edition of the French translation of 1754 of Polignac's *Anti-Lucretius* (462).

- 484 Polignac, Melchior de. *Anti-Lucretius of God and nature*, a poem, written in Latin . . . Rendered into English by the translator of *Paradise lost* (William Dobson). . . . London: Richard Manby, 1757. 57, [1] p. 25 ½ cm.

English translation of only the first book of Polignac's *Anti-Lucretius* (419).

- 485 Walch, Johann Georg. *Bibliotheca theologica selecta litterariis adnotationibus instructa*. Jena: Croecker, 1757–1765. 4 vols. [8] l., 44 p., [2] l., 992 p.; 6 p., [1] l., 1183, [1] p., [37] l.; [1] l., 10 p., [2] l., 890 p., [27] l.; [1] l. 12 p., [1] l., 1171, [69] p. 21 cm.

This monumental *catalogue raisonné* of theological literature compiled by Johann Georg Walch (287), contains valuable bibliographical notes on works by Spinoza and his followers and books about them (vol. 1, pp. 679–690, 693 f., 719–727, 729–732, 771–773, 803–807).

1758

- 486 Marchand, Prosper. *Dictionaire historique, ou memoires critiques et litteraires, concernant la vie et les ouvrages de divers personnages distingués, particulierement dans la republique des lettres*. The Hague: Pierre de Hondt, 1758–1759. 2 vols. [4] l., 330 p., [3] l.; [2] l., 328 p., [19] l. 40 ½ cm.

Prosper Marchand (d. 1756), a French-born bookdealer and learned bibliographer living in Holland, was the editor of the fourth edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire*. At his death he left sufficient notes for this supplementary *Dictionnaire*, the result of forty years' work. Volume 1, pp. 312–329, contains "Liber de tribus impostoribus," an excellent critical review of the history and the "authors" of this book, which also helps to clarify the bibliographical problems of the *Vie de Spinoza* by Lucas (pp. 324 f.). The article "s'Gravesande" deals with that writer's Spinozism (347) and lists anti-Spinozistic works (vol. 1, p. 57).

1759

- 487 Bernis, François-Joachim de Pierres de. *Oeuvres mêlées* . . . en prose et en vers. Amsterdam: Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1759. [1] l., 166 p. 15 ½ cm.

This early collection of poetic and aesthetic writings of François-Joachim de Pierres de Bernis (1715–1794), French statesman and cardinal, contains an introductory *Discours sur la poésie*. This discourse speaks about Bernis' poetic refutation of Spinoza which was published in full only after the cardinal's death. Bernis, it states, used verse for his refutation of the system of Spinoza, "so monstrous in its principles, so horrible in its consequences," because French poetry, always closely connected with philosophy and metaphysics, seemed an excellent medium for that purpose. A part of the poem, dealing with Spinoza, is quoted verbatim (pp. VI–VIII).

See also my notes on Bernis, *La religion vengée*, 1795 (611).

- 488 **Montesquieu**, Charles Louis de Secondat. *Miscellaneous pieces* . . . Translated from the new edition of his Works in quarto printed at Paris. London: D. Wilson and T. Durham, 1759. [4] l., 334 p. 20 1/2 cm.

This collection of various small writings by Montesquieu translated into English contains (pp. 235–334) the translation of *Défense de l'esprit des lois* (440).

- 489 **Trinius**, Johann Anton. *Freydenker-Lexicon, oder Einleitung in die Geschichte der neuern Freygeister ihrer Schriften, und deren Widerlegungen. Nebst einem Bey- und Nachtrage zu des seligen Herrn Johann Albert Fabricius Syllabo scriptorum, pro veritate religionis christianae*. Leipzig und Bernburg: Christoph Gottfried Coerner, 1759. [4], 876 p. 17 1/2 cm.

Johann Anton Trinius (1722–1784), a Protestant pastor in a small town in Saxony who in his writings specialized in the history of *savants*, collected in this lexicon biographical and bibliographical information on the freethinkers of the previous 100 years and listed the writings against them. The entry on Spinoza, bibliographically rich with important information, is found on pp. 417–444, 591 f. Other entries relevant to Spinoza are *Het leven van Philopater* (85) (p. 35); Boulainvilliers (pp. 116 ff.); Franz Cuper (p. 172); Wilhelm Deurhof (pp. 173 ff.); Johann Conrad Dippel (particularly pp. 199 f., 205); Johann Christian Edelmann (pp. 244 ff.); Christian Gabriel Fischer (pp. 280 ff.); Arnold Geuling (pp. 292 f.); Christ. Gottlieb (pp. 293 f.); van den Hooft (p. 314 f.); Abraham Johann Kuffelaer (p. 332 f.); Friedrich von Leenhof (pp. 335 ff., 588 f.); Ludwig Meyer (pp. 360 ff.); Friedrich Wilhelm Stosch (pp. 444 ff.); Natalis Aubert de Versé (pp. 503 ff.); Johann George Wachter (pp. 516 ff.).

1760

- 490 **Leibnitz**, Gottfried Wilhelm. *Essays de théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, & l'origine du mal* . . . Nouvelle édition, augmentée de l'histoire de la vie & des ouvrages de l'auteur, par M. le chevalier de Jaucourt. Lausanne: Marc-Mic. Bousquet, 1760. 2 vols. Portrait, [6] l., 604 p., [2] l.; [1] l., 592 p. 16 cm.

See my notes on the German translation of 1744 (402).

- 491 **Savérien**, Alexandre. *Histoire des philosophes modernes, avec leur portrait gravé dans le goût du crayon, d'après les desseins des plus grands peintres* . . . Publiée par François, graveur des desseins du Cabinet du roi . . . I. partie contenant l'histoire des metaphysiciens. Paris: Brunet, 1760. Engraved title, 19, [1], 111 p.; 10 plates. 30 1/2 cm.

Alexandre Savérien (1720–1805), French mathematician, physicist, engineer and inventor, exhibited his learning in writings in many fields. Though an amateur in philosophy, the biography of Spinoza (pp. 52–58), contained in this volume together with chapters on Erasmus, Hobbes, Nicole, Locke, Malebranche, Bayle, Abbadie, Clarke, and Collins, marks important progress. Savérien used the report by Lucas in *Nouvelles littéraires*, 1719, which most biographers neglected and thus produced an account of Spinoza's life which is more accurate and more free from traditional falsifications than the better known early biographies.

Jean Charles François (1717–1769) adorned Savérien's volume with engraved portraits, Spinoza's among them, done by a new method which aimed at creating the effect of crayon and pastel drawings, of which François claimed to be the inventor.

1761

- 492 [**Mendelssohn**, Moses]. *Philosophische Schriften*. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss, 1761. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [6] l., 256 p.; [1] l., 228 p. 16 cm.

This first collection of Mendelssohn's writings on philosophy and aesthetics contains a revised version of his first book, *Philosophische Gespraechen* (474). Mendelssohn's discussion of Spinoza is found in vol. 1, pp. 192–233, his famous eulogy of Spinoza on p. 206.

- 493 [**Robinet**, Jean-Baptiste]. *De la nature*. Amsterdam: E. van Harrevelt, 1761. Frontispiece, 12, 456 p. 16 1/2 cm.

De la nature is the main work of Jean-Baptiste Robinet (1735–1820), the French enlightener, in which he propounds an organic theory of nature to replace the theory of the creation of the world by God out of nothing. Upon its publication it was immediately characterized as "the system of Spinoza developed by means of a physical system of the world."

The first edition appeared as a self-contained book; the second enlarged edition of 1763–1766 numbers four volumes (496).

- 494 **Savérien**, Alexandre. *Histoire des philosophes modernes avec leur portrait gravé dans le goût du crayon d'après les planches in 4°. dessin: par les plus gds. peintres* . . . Publiée par François grav. des des. du cab. du Roy &c. . . Paris: Brunet [and/or others], 1761–1773. 8 vols. (vol. 1 in 3rd edition). 16 1/2 cm.

The octavo edition is less sumptuous than the one in quarto of 1760 (491). The article on Spinoza is in vol. 1, pp. 171–193; the Spinoza portrait is in black.

1762

- 495 **Ocellus** Lucanus. Ocellus Lucanus en grec et en françois avec des dissertations sur les principales questions de la metaphisique, de la phisique, & de la morale des anciens; qui peuvent servir de suite à la Philosophie du bon sens par Mr. le marquis d'Argens. . . . Berlin: Haude et Spener, 1762. [2] l., 24, 307, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

Ocellus Lucanus, a Pythagorean philosopher born in the 5th century B.C., was supposedly the author of a treatise *On the nature of the universe*. For this edition, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens added lengthy annotations — a kind of continuation to his *La philosophie du bon-sens*, 1737 (341). In his remarks, d'Argens repeatedly cites Spinoza's unblemished personal life (pp. 204, 232, 236 f., 255 f.).

1763

- 496 **Robinet**, Jean-Baptiste. De la nature. Nouvelle edition revue, corrigée & augmentée par l'auteur. Amsterdam: E. van Harrevelt, 1763–1766. 4 vols. Frontispiece, 16, 338 p., [1] l.; 16, 443 p.; 56, 287, [1] p.; [2] l., 3, [1], 284 p.; plates. 20 cm.

New definitive edition of *De la nature* by Jean-Baptiste Robinet, of which the first volume appeared in 1761 as a self-contained work (493).

In its theological parts, this work is a continual variation on themes of Spinoza's *Ethica*. Robinet himself calls Spinoza one of the "masters of us modern philosophers" (vol. 2, p. 311) and Spinoza's system "the common system pushed to the extreme" (vol. 2, p. 366). He praises Spinoza for his criticism of the anthropomorphic idea of God, but against Spinoza he insists on the dualism of God and universe — they are two incommensurable entities (vol. 3, p. 31).

1764

- 497 [**Argens**, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d']. Lettres juives, ou correspondance philosophique, historique & critique, entre un juif voyageur en différens états de l'Europe, & de ses correspondans en divers endroits. Nouvelle édition, augmentée de nouvelles lettres & de quantité de remarques. The Hague: Pierre Paupie, 1764. 8 vols. [2] l., 24, 347p.; [2] l., 365 p.; [2] l., 368 p.; [2] l., 391 p.; [2] l., 22, 357 p.; [2] l., 376 p.; [2] l., 298 p.; [2] l., 390, [1] p. 14 cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1736–1737 (340).

- 498 **Rousseau**, Jean-Jacques. Lettres écrites de la montagne. En deux parties. . . . Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1764. [3] l., 368 p. 18 cm.

In these *Lettres* Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) deals with the relationship between Christianity and state, and denies that miracles are proof of revelation. The book was the cause of Rousseau's flight from his refuge at Moitiers where the populace had been incited by the local priest. Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française avant la révolution*, 1954, vol. 2, pp. 491 ff., details how this book, especially in its third letter, incorporates the results of Rousseau's study of Spinoza.

- 499 **Leland**, John. A view of the principal deistical writers that have appeared in England in the last and present century; with observations upon them, and some account of the answers that have been published against them. In several letters to a friend. The fourth edition (vol. 1; vol. 2: The fifth edition). London: R. and J. Dodsley, etc., 1764–1766. 2 vols. [1] l., 12, 428 p.; [1] l., (433, 27) p. 20 ½ cm.

John Leland (1691–1766), an English Nonconformist divine, was the author of several books refuting the extreme English deists and freethinkers. His *View of the principal deistical writers* deals with such philosophers as Hobbes, Toland, Herbert of Chisbury, Blount, Shaftesbury, Collins, Woolston, Hume, Lord Bolingbroke, etc. Leland discusses Spinoza, "the most applauded doctor of modern atheism" (vol. 1, p. 76), only en passant in references to repentance (p. 8); Toland's *Pantheisticon* favoring Spinoza (p. 43); natural law (pp. 76–78); miracles (p. 296).

1765

- 500 **Argens**, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d'. Histoire de l'esprit humain ou Memoires secrets et universels de la republique des lettres. Berlin: Haude et Spener, 1765. 3 vols. Portrait, [6] l., 360 p.; [1] l., 360 p.; [1] l., 407 p. 15 cm.

As Argens indicates in the preface, the *Histoire de l'esprit humain* is merely a new edition of his *Mémoires secrets de la république des lettres*, published first in 1744 (401).

- 501 **Meier**, Georg Friedrich. Metaphysik . . . Zweyte Auflage. Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1765. 4 vols. [5] l., 451 p.; 311, [1] p.; 509, [2] p.; [2] l., 524 p. 20 ½ cm.

In his system of metaphysics Georg Friedrich Meier (418) rejects two central aspects of Spinozism — its fatalism (vol. 2, pp. 50–54) and "theological Spinozism," i.e. Spinozistic pantheism (vol. 4, pp. 95 f.; see also pp. 226 f. on Spinoza's view of miracles).

- 502 **Mosheim**, Johann Lorenz von. An ecclesiastical history, antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century: in which the rise, progress, and variations of church power are considered in their

connexion with the state of learning and philosophy, and the political history of Europe during that period . . . Translated from the original, and accompanied with notes and chronological tables, by Archibald Maclaine. . . London: A. Millar, 1765. 2 vols. 29, 807, [1] p.; [2] l., 681 p. 25 cm.

The *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae antiquae et recentioris*, published in 1755, of which the above is the English translation, shows Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (260) as a church historian not bound to the dogmatic confines of his predecessors. His account of Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 316–319) is pleasantly free from the usual theological bias.

- 503 **Valsecchi**, Antonino. Dei fondamenti della religione & dei fonti dell' impietà. Padua: Stamperia del Seminario, 1765. 2 vols. 24, 257, [1], 4 p.; 20, 372, 17 p. 25 cm.
See my notes on the edition of 1767 (511).

- 504 [**Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de and César-Chesneau **Dumarsais**]. *Recueil nécessaire*. Leipzig, 1765. 8, 319 p. 19 cm.

The *Recueil nécessaire*, probably put together by Voltaire, is a collection of deistic and anti-clerical pieces in the tradition of freethought. It opens with *Analyse de la religion chrétienne*, here, probably correctly, ascribed to César-Chesneau Dumarsais (1676–1756), a grammarian and editor of some of Mirabaud's works, who was closely associated with the *Encyclopédie*. Ira O. Wade, *The clandestine organization and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, Princeton, 1938, gives a detailed analysis of the work (pp. 164–185) and shows that Spinoza was its main source (p. 176). Dumarsais refers the reader to the French translation of the *Tractatus, Traité des cérémonies superstitieuses des Juifs* (687–689), for additional proof of his own Bible criticism (p. 110). He quotes Spinoza as the *auteur qui étoit Juif*, who as an expert in Hebrew was able to elucidate difficulties that were beyond the capacities of others (p. 12). The *Analyse* was written between 1722 and 1745.

The remaining pieces in the *Recueil* are by Voltaire. *Sermon des cinquante* (pp. 121–150) follows the Spinozistic line, and so does *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme* (p. 89–118). More noticeable than in the foregoing writings is the influence of Spinoza in Voltaire's *Examen important par Milord Bolingbroke* (p. 151–290) where he refutes the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch with the methods of Spinoza.

1766

- 505 [**Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de]. *Le philosophe ignorant*. [Geneva], 1766. 7, 168 p. 21 cm.

Le philosophe ignorant is considered by many the most comprehensive presentation of the philosophical views of Voltaire (380). The chapter on Spinoza (*Doute* xxiv, pp. 49–61) points out that Spinoza is an atheist in the strongest sense of the word and that he overturned morality although remaining rigidly virtuous himself. See also the reference to Jurieu and Spinoza (p. 148).

- 506 (V)[**oltair**](e), [François Marie] (A)[rouet de]. *Le philosophe ignorant*. [Amsterdam or The Hague], 1766. [3] l., 120 p. 20 cm.

Another edition of *Le philosophe ignorant* (505).

- 507 [**Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de]. *Le philosophe ignorant*. N.p., 1766. [7] l., 154 p. 19 cm.

A third issue of *Le philosophe ignorant* (505).

- 508 **Brucker**, Johann Jacob. *Historia critica philosophiae*. . . . Leipzig: Weidemann et Reich, 1766–1767. 6 vols. (vols. 1 and 2 in second editions). Portrait, [3] l., 1357, [35] p.; [4] l., 1072 p., [18] l.; [3] l., 912 p., [16] l.; [3] l., 785, [31] p.; [4] l., 933, [32] p.; [4] l., 1032 p., [14] l. 24 cm.

Historia critica philosophiae by Johann Jacob Brucker (413), a pioneering work of tremendous erudition, contains a valuable account of Spinoza's life and philosophy, and the philosophy of his followers (vol. 42, which is vol. 5, pp. 682–706; additions, vol. 6, p. 922). Other references to Spinoza are in vol. 1, pp. 1149, 1160, 1170; vol. 2, pp. 1054 ff. (Cabala), 1067; vol. 3, pp. 112, 138 f.; vol. 42, pp. 809, 820; vol. 6, pp. 925 f., 1031.

1767

- 509 **Boulainvilliers**, Henri de. *Doutes sur la religion suivies de l'Analyse du Traité, theologi-politique de Spinoza*, par le Comte de Boulainvilliers. London, 1767. [2] l., 103 p. 15 ½ cm.

The second writing in this collection, *Analyse du Traité théologi-politique de Spinoza*, ascribed here to Henri de Boulainvilliers, is identical with the manuscript *Critique de Spinoza* (666).

The first writing, *Doutes sur la religion*, is an anti-Christian treatise typical of the works of the radical philosophes. Barbier, IV, 1119b, cites Guérout de Pival as its author.

- 510 **Freret**, Nicolas. *Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne*. N.p., 1767. 268 p., [2] l. 14 ½ cm.

The authorship of the *Examen* has been debated. The title page makes it a work of Nicolas Fréret (1688–1749), a historian and member of the *Académie* to whom many anti-clerical works of the French enlightenment were ascribed. Two other attributions have been made; to Levesque de Burigny and to Morellet. However, there is good evidence that Fréret is the author (Wade, *The clandestine organization and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, Princeton, 1938, pp. 200 ff.).

The book shatters the sacred origin of the Scriptures by showing that each of the early Christian teachers had repudiated some part of the Scriptures. The Spinozistic character of the critique is noted by Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française*, vol. 2, 1954, pp. 378, 382 ff., and Wade, p. 204.

- 511 **Valsecchi**, Antonino. Dei fondamenti della religione e dei fonti dell' empietà libri tre . . . Edizione seconda riveduta, et ampliata dall' autore. Padua: Stamperia del Seminario, 1767. 3 vols. 24, 260 p.; 20, 344 p.; 24, 392 p. 24 cm.

This learned work of Antonino Valsecchi (1708–1791), a Dominican scholar who taught at the University of Padua, first published in 1765 (503), presents a detailed defense of Christianity and its tenets against the English deists and French *philosophes* and their atheistic forerunners, Spinoza among them. Valsecchi refutes the system of Spinoza and particularly his concept of God (vol. 1, pp. 53, 63–73), his fatalism (pp. 156–162), and his notions on ethics (pp. 167–170). He rejects Spinoza's position on miracles (vol. 2, pp. 225 f., 236–245) and prophecy (p. 317); he rehashes the old fables about Spinoza's death (vol. 3, pp. 23–29), goes on from there to picture Spinoza's morals (pp. 43–47), and concludes with a rejection of Spinoza's pantheism (pp. 205–208, 214 f.).

Valsecchi's *La religione vincitrice*, 1776 (547) was written as a supplement to *Dei fondamenti*.

- 512 **Valsecchi**, Antonino. De fundamentis religionis et de fontibus impietatis libri tres . . . Ex italo idiomate in latinum translatus juxta editionem secundam auctiorem retractatoremque. Liber primus (-tertius). Venice: Nicolaus Pezzana, 1767. 32, 571 p. 25 ½ cm.

Latin translation of the second edition of *Dei fondamenti della religione e dei fonti dell' empietà*, 1767 (511).

- 513 [**Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de]. Lettres à son Altesse Monseigneur le Prince de ****. Sur Rabelais & sur d'autres auteurs accusés d'avoir mal parlé de la religion chrétienne. Amsterdam [Geneva]: Marc Michel Rey, 1767. [1] l., 144 p. 18 cm.

The tenth in this collection of essays in letter form on philosophers and other writers who composed books critical of religion deals with Spinoza. Voltaire

(380) feels that the personality as well as the work of Spinoza has been misjudged. Johannes Bredenburg (21), Voltaire says, plainly lied when he maligned Spinoza's character, and the ban by the Amsterdam Jewish community was a "Sabbath of witches." The *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is far from atheistic, although atheism, a true danger, appears in the *Opera posthuma*, and the best line of attack against Spinoza is to point out his ignorance of physics and his monstrous abuse of metaphysics.

- 514 [**Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de]. Le philosophe ignorant. Nouvelle édition corrigée. N. p., 1767. [2] l., 108 p. 16 cm.

New edition of *Le philosophe ignorant* (505).

- 515 **Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de. The ignorant philosopher. With an address to the public upon the parricides imputed to the families of Calas and Sirven. Translated from the French of M. de Voltaire. London: S. Bladon, 1767. [4] l., 206 p., [1] l. 20 cm.

English translation of Voltaire's *Le philosophe ignorant* (505).

1768

- 516 [**Fréret**, Nicolas]. Lettre de Thrasibule à Leucippe. Ouvrage posthume. . . London, [1768]. 252 p. 16 ½ cm.

The *Lettre de Thrasibule*, written probably in 1722, appears to be an authentic work of Fréret (510). The book is an examination of different religions, a study, so-to-speak, in comparative religion applying to all of them the critical yardsticks of deism. Wade, *The clandestine organization and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, Princeton, 1938, notes the Spinozistic character of the work (pp. 193, 196); so do Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française*, vol. 2, pp. 378, 380 ff. and Mauthner, *Der Atheismus und seine Geschichte im Abendlande*, 1922, vol. 3, p. 38 f.

- 517 **Le Militaire** philosophe ou difficultés sur la religion proposées au R.P. Malebranche, prêtre de l'Oratoire. Par un ancien officier. London, 1768. [2] l., 193, [3] p. 16 ½ cm.

Le militaire philosophe is one of the many deistic works which were secretly circulated in France in the first half of the 18th century in manuscript form before they were printed. Its author cannot be determined with surety. Jacques André Naigeon (1738–1810), bookseller, editor and compiler, and a leading figure among the *philosophes*, was, according to Quérard, responsible for its publication. He dates it from 1711. The last chapter of the printed version is by Holbach.

Though clearly arguing in the Spinozistic tradition, in fact often being more radical than Spinoza in his critique of the Scriptures, the author of *Le militaire philosophe* declares rather unconvincingly that, of the books opposed to Christianity and dealing with the difficulties of maintaining traditional religion, those of Spinoza, Hobbes, etc. had remained unknown to him (p. 4).

- 518 **Toland**, John. *Lettres philosophiques sur l'origine des préjugés, du dogme de l'immortalité de l'ame, de l'idolâtrie & de la superstition; sur le système de Spinoza & sur l'origine du mouvement dans la matiere*. Traduite d'Anglois. . . London; 1768. [1] l., 2, 267 p. 16 cm.

French translation of Toland's *Letters to Serena*, 1704 (149). The translator is Paul Heinrich Dietrich Baron d'Holbach, the author of *Le système de la nature*, 1770 (524/5), who translated many of the works of English deists.

1769

- 519 [**Chaudon**, Louis-Mayeul]. *Dictionnaire anti-philosophique, pour servir de commentaire & de correctif au Dictionnaire philosophique, & aux autres livres qui ont paru de nos jours contre le christianisme: ouvrage dans lequel on donne en abrégé les preuves de la religion, & la réponse aux objections de ses adversaires: avec la notice des principaux auteurs qui l'ont attaquée, & l'apologie des grands hommes qui l'ont défendue*. Nouvelle édition considérablement augmentée. . . Avignon: La veuve Girard, etc., 1769. 2 vols. 32, 288 p.; 256 p. 20 cm.

The *Dictionnaire anti-philosophique* by Louis-Mayeul Chaudon (1737–1817), French *litterateur* and bio-lexicographer, was written as a refutation of Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique* from the Catholic viewpoint. The second volume, p. 162, contains a brief article "Spinosa. Son monstrueux système." In it Chaudon states that Spinozism did not survive its author. That assertion certainly sets him aside from the apologetic writers of his faith who as a rule pictured Spinoza as a perennial danger.

- 520 **Valsecchi**, Antonino. *Dei fondamenti della religione e dei fonti dell' empietà libri tre . . .* Edizione terza. Genoa: Bernardo Tarigo, 1769. 3 vols. 20, 260 p.; 20, 348 p.; 24, 400 p. 25 ½ cm.

Third edition of Valsecchi's work (511).

- 521 **Woolston**, Thomas. *Discours sur les miracles de Jésus-Christ*. Traduits de l'Anglois. . . N.p., Dixhuitième siècle [1769]. 239 p. 16 ½ cm.

Thomas Woolston (1669–1733), the English deist, published six separate *Discourses on Miracles* from 1726–1728. He was jailed and committed to an insane

asylum on account of them and died in prison. Paul Heinrich Baron d'Holbach (524) translated the *Discourses* into French.

Crass and ribald as they were, the *Discourses* were of tremendous influence on other freethinkers as well as on the orthodox to whom they signified the pernicious extremes of deism. Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française*, 1954, vol. 2, p. 634, points out that the violent arguments of Woolston are a distortion of the sixth chapter of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

- 522 [**Argens**, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d']. *Lettres cabalistiques, ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre deux cabalistes, divers esprits élémentaires, & le seigneur Astaroth*. Nouvelle édition, augmentée de nouvelles lettres & de quantité de remarques. The Hague: Pierre Paupie, 1769–1770. 7 vols. [2] l., 24, 306 p.; [2] l., 12, 368 p.; [1] l., 6, 340 p.; [2] l., 8, 348 p.; [2] l., 356 p.; [2] l., 314 p.; [2] l., 365 p. 14 ½ cm.

In the *Lettres cabalistiques*, styled like his *Lettres juives* (340) and *Lettres chinoises* (372) Argens continues his discussion of Spinoza and his philosophy.

Vol. 1, pp. 52–67 contains a dialogue between Spinoza and Mariana, the Spanish Jesuit historian of the sixteenth century, in the manner of the *Dialogues à l'enfer*; much is made in it of Spinoza's obsession to convert his fellow-religionists to his beliefs. Paraphrasing the same theme, Spinoza is portrayed in vol. 3, pp. 163 ff. as a philosopher certain of the immortality of his philosophy. Vol. 7, pp. 123 ff. reports on the dissensions within the Jewish community of London when its rabbi, David Nieto, was accused of Spinozism. See also vol. 2, pp. 155 f. and vol. 6, p. 210.

1770

- 523 **Castro**, Isaac Orobio de. *Israel vengé*. Ou exposition naturelle des prophéties hebraïques que les Chrétiens appliquent à Jesus, leur prétendu Messie. London, 1770. [2] l., 243, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

Doubts have been raised whether Isaac Orobio de Castro (145) is the author of this anti-Christian book. According to its editor, de Castro composed the work "in his language," meaning Spanish; a Jew by the name of Henriquez prepared the French translation at the request of a man of letters residing in Holland; and the latter retouched or corrected the translation. Johann Christoph Wolf's listing in his *Bibliotheca hebraea*, vol. 3, 1727, p. 552 (228) of de Castro's Spanish manuscripts quoting from an earlier catalogue verifies Orobio's authorship of at least some parts of *Israel vengé* and Pierre Naville (*Paul Thiry d'Holbach*, Paris, 1943, p. 417, identifies Holbach 524/5) as its editor.

The book is directed against Christianity. It shows that Jesus does not fulfill any of the promises made for the coming of the Messiah, it attacks the doctrine of the Trinity, and brings proof that the 53rd chapter of Isaiah cannot apply to

Christ. In doing so it uses, besides other arguments, points made in Spinoza's Bible criticism. De Castro was an orthodox Jew; in his *Certamen philosophicum* (145) he had refuted Spinoza's philosophical atheism, but he does not hesitate to use a few Spinozistic ideas to shake the dependence of Christian theology on the Old Testament!

- 524/5 [Holbach, Paul Heinrich Dietrich d']. *Système de la nature. Ou des loix du monde physique & du monde moral.* Par M. Mirabaud, secrétaire perpétuel, & l'un des quarante de l'Académie Française. . . . London, 1770. 2 vols. [6] l., 370, [4] p.; [2], 412 p. 20 1/2 cm.

German-born Paul Heinrich Dietrich Baron d'Holbach (1723–1789), whose Paris salon was headquarters for the Encyclopedists, was the great promoter of radical French enlightenment through his own works as well as the numerous translations and editions of the works of others. The *Système de la nature* is his *chef d'oeuvre* and in a sense that of radical French enlightenment. It was published under the name of the secretary of the French Academy, Mirabaud, who had died 10 years earlier. The book was banned and burned for its atheism.

Holbach's philosophy, as he develops it in his *Système de la nature*, is radical materialism. Throwing out the prudence employed by many other *philosophes*, he openly relies on Spinoza where Spinoza supports his stance. He sides with him in stating that there is only one eternal Substance, the universe (vol. 2, pp. 109, 140 ff.); there is no creation (vol. 2, p. 172); and man is not free, his actions are fully determined. Holbach is equally outspoken in excluding any pantheistic interpretation of the concept of Substance; there is no God, not even one identical with Substance (vol. 1, p. 159; vol. 2, pp. 332 ff.). Holbach propounds an unequivocal atheism which, as he points out by reference to Spinoza's appearance in Holland, does not disturb the peace of society (vol. 2, p. 352).

See also my notes on the edition of 1780 (557), on Holbach's *Le bon-sens*, 1773 (534) and Holland's *Réflexions philosophiques sur le Système de la nature*, 1775 (540).

- 526 [La Croze, Mathurin Veyssière]. *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'histoire et de religion entre Mylord Bolingbroke, et Isaac d'Orobio, rabin des Juifs Portugais a Amsterdam.* London, 1770. [2] l., 450 p. 16 cm.

The author of this book is Mathurin Veyssière La Croze (1661–1739) who as a youth traveled in America and the West Indies, then became a Benedictine monk at St. Maur, left Catholicism, and lived in Berlin as librarian and tutor of Frederick the Great's favorite sister. My copy of the *Entretiens* comes from the library of the royal palace in Potsdam which had its start as the library of Frederick the Great. The *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'histoire de littérature, de*

religion et de critique, as the original title read which also appears in the text of this edition, appeared first in 1711. In fictitious discussions between Bolingbroke and Orobio de Castro it deals with the practical problems of religious tolerance and, in its second half, with the history of atheism and recent atheists. The real Isaac Orobio de Castro, by the way, was not a rabbi, but a physician (145, 523); he is the "erudite Jew" with whom Philipp van Limborch had his "friendly conference" (67).

The *Entretiens* establishes a degree of conformity between the philosophic principles of Giordano Bruno and Spinoza (pp. 308 ff.); it discusses Matthias Knutzen and his Spinozistic sect of the *Gewissener* and presents (pp. 394–411) a French translation of Knutzen's pamphlet *Amicus amicis amica* (19). It asserts that of all atheists Spinoza acquired the largest following (pp. 422 f.).

- 527 [Voltaire, François Marie Arouet de]. *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, par des amateurs.* N.p., 1770–1771. 4 vols. [2] l., 377 p.; [1] l., 390, [1] p., *Avis au relieur*; [1] l., 365, [1] p.; [1] l., 382 p. 20 cm.

Voltaire (380) is the author of *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*. They are not questions at all, but essays on many subjects, most of them covered in the *Encyclopédie*, and composed as material for a new edition in those cases where the original treatment was incomplete or not in line with the professed ideology of the encyclopedists. Other articles concerned subjects which had been omitted in the *Encyclopédie*.

The article "Athéisme" points out that Spinoza does not deny the existence of a supreme intelligence (vol. 2, pp. 289 ff.), so does the article on *causes finales* (vol. 3, p. 244). The article "Dieu, Dieux" contains a long section on Spinoza (vol. 4, pp. 277–285) in which Voltaire, basing his judgment on contradictions and statements in Spinoza's philosophy unexpected of an atheist, comes to the conclusion that Spinoza is not dangerous, merely confused. This section was reprinted in the edition of Holbach's *Système de la nature* of 1780 (557). An *Epître à l'auteur du Livre des trois imposteurs* is also contained in the article "Athéisme" (vol. 2, pp. 296 ff.).

See also my notes on the edition of 1773 (535).

1771

- 528 Condillac, Etienne Bonnot de. *Traité des systèmes, ou l'on en démêle les inconvénients et les avantages.* Amsterdam et Leipzig: Arkstée & Merkus; etc., 1771. 448 p., [1] l. 16 1/2 cm.

The first edition had appeared in 1749 (435).

- 529 **Leibnitz**, Gottfried Wilhelm. Tentamina theodicaeae de bonitate Dei libertate hominis et origine mali. Versionis novae editio altera. Vita auctoris a Bruckero descripta, Kortholti Disput. de philosophia Leibnitii &c. et variis observationibus aucta. Cum praefatione Aug. Frid. Boeckii. . . . Tuebingen: Berger, 1771. Portrait, [1] l., 19 p., [1] l., 36, 842 p., [37] l. 19 ½ cm.

Latin translation by Johann Ulrich Steinhöfer of Leibnitz' *Essais de Théodicée* (402).

1772

- 530 **Koelbele**, Johann Balthasar. Kleiner Versuch ueber die Wunder nach Houtevil'schem Bonnetischem und Hollmaennischem Leitfaden mit einigen Zusaetzen ueber die Mendelssohnische und Koelbelische Religionstreitigkeit. Frankfurt am Main: Mit Andreaeischen Schriften, 1772. [8, one of them blank] l., 285 p. 17 ½ cm.

Kleiner Versuch ueber die Wunder by Johann Balthasar Koelbele (1722–1778), an attorney in Frankfurt and author of many polemical and anti-semitic writings, is part of the controversy which arose when in 1769 Johann Caspar Lavater dedicated his translation of part of Bonnet's *Palingénésie philosophique* to Moses Mendelssohn, the Jewish philosopher of enlightenment. In that translation, which appeared under the title *Philosophische Untersuchung der Beweise fuer das Christenthum*, the Swiss theologian had asked Mendelssohn to become a convert to Christianity. Mendelssohn supported by many enlightened writers, angrily rejected the suggestion. Koelbele, who had written against Mendelssohn for many years, joined the controversy with a number of "letters" and the appendices to this essay on the truth of miracles.

Koelbele reviews Claude-François Houtteville's *La religion chrétienne prouvée par les faits* (257), particularly his discussion of Spinoza's concept of miracles (pp. 5–44, 186 ff.). He also reviews in the same orthodox vein the passages concerning Spinoza in Samuel Christian Hollmann's *Commentatio philosophica de miraculis*, 1727 (290) (pp. 135, 174–176, 190).

- 531 [**Mandeville**, Bernard de]. The fable of the bees: or, private vices, public benefits . . . With An essay on charity and charity schools: and A search into the nature of society. . . . Edinburgh: J. Wood, 1772. 2 vols. 316 p.; 298 p., [9] l. 17 ½ cm.

The fable of the bees by Bernard de Mandeville (1670–1733), Dutch-born and educated British physician and moralist, published first in 1714–1729, was one of the most controversial books of the 18th century. Its main thesis is that private vices are chiefly responsible for the affluence of modern society and that for this reason the passions of the individual which give birth to these vices

should not be suppressed. Spinoza is mentioned in his book only once (vol. 2, pp. 260 f.). Mandeville rejects Spinozism — the idea that the universe was from all eternity — although he declares that, after having been neglected for many years, Spinozism "begins to prevail again." Mandeville himself was accused of being a follower of Spinoza (296).

- 532 **S[haftebury]**, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of, and Denis **Diderot**. Principes de la philosophie morale, ou Essay de M. S***, sur le mérite et la vertu, avec des réflexions. Amsterdam, 1772. Frontispiece, 32 p., engraving, 335 p. 16 cm.

The *Principes*, originally published in 1745, is the first work of Denis Diderot (409). Largely a paraphrase of *An inquiry concerning virtue and merit* by Anthony Ashley Cooper Shafferbury (1671–1713), the English philosopher, the book was written by Diderot while he was still a believing Christian. It demonstrates that virtue and belief in God are inseparable; but, as Vernière puts it, in the preface, where Diderot tries to separate the atheist from the Spinozist, the spectre of Spinozism appears (pp. xv ff.).

1773

- 533 **Cudworth**, Ralph. Systema intellectuale hujus universi, seu de veris naturae rerum originibus commentarii, quibus omnis eorum philosophia, qui deum esse negant, funditus evertitur. Accedunt reliqua ejus opuscula. Joannes Laurentius Mosheimius . . . omnia ex anglico latine vertit, recensuit, variisque observationibus dissertationibus illustravit et auxit. Editio secunda . . . emendatio & auctor. Leiden: Samuel et Johannes Luchtmans, 1773. 2 vols. [3] l., 56 p., [1] l., 968 p.; [2] l., 922 p., [35] l. 27 cm.

Latin translation by Johann Lorenz Mosheim (260) of Cudworth's *The true intellectual system of the universe*, 1678 (30). The translator's notes contain additional references to Spinoza, most of them dealing with Spinozism before Spinoza (vol. 1, pp. 457, 599, 682 f.; vol. 2, pp. 74 f., 97, 246, 254 f., 526 f.).

- 534 [**Holbach**, Paul Heinrich Dietrich d']. Le bon-sens, ou idées naturelles opposées aux idées surnaturelles. London, 1773. [1] l., 11, 298 p. 19 cm.

This book is a popularized version of Holbach's *Système de la nature* (524/5).

- 535 [**Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de]. Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, par des amateurs. Nouvelle édition augmentée. N. p., 1773. 9 vols. [2] l., 377 p.; [2] l., 388 p.; [2] l., 364 p.; [2] l., 380 p.; [2] l., 372 p.; [2] l., 351 p.; [2] l., 364 p.; [2] l., 371 p.; [2] l., 376 p. 18 ½ cm.

The first four volumes, including those concerned with Spinoza, of this new enlarged [?] edition are identical with the first edition of 1770 ff. (527).

- 536 **Zur Geschichte und Litteratur.** Aus den Schaetzen der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbuettel. Erster (-sechster) Beytrag von Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (vol. 5: und Johann Joachim Eschenburg). Braunschweig: Fuerstliche Waysenhaus-Buchhandlung, 1773-1781. 6 vols. 258 p.; [1] l., p. 261-515; [1] l., 259 p.; [2] l., p. 263-543, [1] p.; 261 p.; 560 p. 21 1/2 cm.

Hermann Samuel Reimarus (463) was openly a mild deist, but when he died he left a manuscript containing a radical critique of revelation and Christianity. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), the great German enlightener, who was a friend of Reimarus' son and daughter, received the manuscript from them while he was librarian at the Ducal Library of Wolfenbuettel, and published fragments in various volumes of *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur*, a collection of manuscripts from the Library. Reimarus' manuscript was, so-to-speak, smuggled into this collection although it was never part of it.

The third volume contains Reimarus' "Von Duldung der Deisten" (pp. 195-226); the fourth, "Ein Mehreres aus den Papieren des Ungenannten, die Offenbarung betreffend," filling with a postscript by Lessing the entire volume. Lessing pretended he did not know the identity of the author who, in the controversies that soon arose, was referred to as the "Wolfenbuetteler Fragmentist."

While in his published works, such as *Die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der naturlichen Religion*, 1754 (463), Reimarus rejects Spinoza the way Wolff did, he follows Spinoza, even going beyond him, in his secret writings which reject the divine origin of the Old Testament, Christian revelation, and the dogmatic system of Christianity (see Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 32, 1893, pp. 43 ff.).

1774

- 537 **La Mettrie**, Julien Offroy de. *Oeuvres philosophiques* . . . Nouvelle edition, corrigée & augmentée. Amsterdam, 1774. 3 vols. [2] l., 282, 2 p.; 8, 304 p.; 12, 323, [1] p. 14 cm.

The first volume of La Mettrie's *Oeuvres philosophiques* contains the "Abrégé des systèmes pour faciliter l'intelligence du Traité de l'âme" (pp. 233-282). This seemingly separate work is nothing more than the somewhat enlarged annotations appearing on pp. 209-337 of the first edition of the *Traité de l'âme*, published in 1745 under the title *Histoire naturelle de l'âme* (406). La Mettrie's review of Spinoza's system has lost some of its critical tone (pp. 267 ff.).

- 538 **Turretini**, Johann Alphons. *Opera omnia theologica, philosophica et philologica*. Louvain et Franequer: H.A. de Chalmot et D. Romar, 1774-1776. 3 vols. [4] l., 563, [39] p.; [4] l., 704 p.; [3] l., 576 p. 27 cm.

Johann Alphons Turretini (1671-1737), a reformed theologian, was professor in Geneva where he taught a kind of rational orthodoxy harmonizing natural theology with the viewpoint of revelation and favoring religious tolerance. His collected works contain a "Dissertatio de libertate humana contra Spinozam" (vol. 1, pp. 138-151) and a "Dissertatio . . . pro veritate religionis christianae adversus incredulorum difficultates," disputing Spinoza's critique of miracles (pp. 435-446); see also vol. 1, pp. 4, 252 and vol. 3, pp. 297 and 324 f. (on Spinozistic sects).

1775

- 539 **[Boulainvilliers, Henri de]**. *Traité des trois imposteurs*. [Holland?], 1775. 152 p. 19 1/2 cm.

This *Traité des trois imposteurs*, most probably written by Henri de Boulainvilliers, appeared first in print in 1719 as the second part of *La vie et l'esprit de Benoit Spinoza*, but exists also in form of clandestinely distributed manuscripts (665, 667, 668, 669). Beginning in the 1770s the relaxation of censorship and later the spirit of the French Revolution caused the *Traité* to be published many times (542, 578, 605, 615).

Appended to this issue are three pieces, namely "Sentimens sur le Traité des trois imposteurs," a condensation of Bernard de la Monnoie's *Lettre . . . sur le prétendu livre des trois imposteurs*, 1712 (307); "Réponse à la dissertation de Mr. de La Monnoye, sur le Traité des trois imposteurs," by an unknown, possibly by Peter Friedrich Arpe (195); and "Copie de l'article 1x du tome Ier, seconde partie des Mémoires de littérature," 1716. These three pieces do not deal with the French *Traité des trois imposteurs*, but the Latin *De tribus impostoribus*, thus adding greatly to the traditional confusion (665, 667).

- 540 **Holland**, Georg Jonathan von. *Réflexions philosophiques sur le Système de la nature*. Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée & augmentée. En deux parties. Neufchatel, 1775. 4, 387 p. 20 cm.

This refutation of Holbach's *Système de la nature* (524/5) by Georg Jonathan von Holland (1742-1784), a German mathematician and philosopher, includes Spinoza as one of Holbach's sources or as a thinker holding parallel opinions (pp. 6 f., 109, 245, 261, 265; see also pp. 253, 351, 355).

- 541 **Maclaurin**, Colin. An account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries, in four books . . . From the author's manuscript papers, by Patrick Murdoch . . . The third edition. London: J. Nourse, etc., 1775. [5] l., 26, 412 p.; plates. 22 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1748 (428).

1776

- 542 [**Boulainvilliers**, Henri de]. *Traité des trois imposteurs*. Amsterdam: [Marc Michel Rey?], 1776. [1] l., 138 p., [1] l. 16 ½ cm.

This edition contains the same text and appendices as that of 1775 (539).

- 543 **Jerusalem**, Karl Wilhelm. *Philosophische Aufsätze* . . . herausgegeben von Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Braunschweig: Buchhandlung des Fuerstl. Waisenhauses, 1776. [8] l., 116 p. 15 cm.

Edition designated by Muncker (Lessing's *Saemtliche Schriften*, vol. 12, p. 292) as the first issue and by Paul Beer (in his reprint of *Philosophische Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1900, pp. x f.) as the second.

Karl Wilhelm Jerusalem (1747–1772), a government official in Wetzlar, Germany, committed suicide after he fell in love with the wife of another official. Goethe, a colleague of Jerusalem in Wetzlar, memorialized him in his *Leiden des jungen Werther*. Lessing published Jerusalem's philosophical essays as a protest against the sentimental characterization of his friend by Goethe.

The third essay, "Ueber die Freyheit," reports a discussion between Lessing and Jerusalem on freedom of will (pp. 19–56); Jerusalem wins Lessing over to his side by citing, without mentioning him by name, Spinoza's views. In his notes on this essay (pp. 111–113) Lessing praises Jerusalem for having well formulated "a system which because of its dangerous conclusions has been decried so much and which certainly would be more widely shared if one could get accustomed so easily to consider these very conclusions in the light in which they appear here." This in a way is a *confessio Spinozistica* by Lessing many years before his conversation with Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi in which he declared himself a Spinozist (564).

- 544 **Jerusalem**, Karl Wilhelm. *Philosophische Aufsätze* . . . herausgegeben von Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Braunschweig: Buchhandlung des Fuerstl. Waisenhauses, 1776. [6] l., 116 p. 16 ½ cm.

Edition designated by Muncker (Lessing's *Saemtliche Schriften*, vol. 12, p. 292) as the second issue and by Paul Beer (in his reprint of *Philosophische Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1900, pp. x f.) as the first.

See my notes on 543.

- 545 [**Meyer**, Lodewijk]. *Philosophia Scripturae interpres. Exercitatio paradoxa tertium edita, et appendice Ioachimi Camerarii aucta; cum notis variis et praefatione D. Io. Sal. Semleri*. Halle: Johann Christoph Hendel, 1776. 24, 300 p. 21 ½ cm.

A new annotated edition of Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (6) by Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791), the German theologian who forcefully initiated modern biblical criticism in Germany. Semler was attracted to Meyer's book because it supported his rationalistic approach to theology and his doubts about the historical merits of an organized church.

- 546 **Mosheim**, Johann Lorenz von. *Histoire ecclésiastique ancienne et moderne, depuis la naissance de Jesus-Christ jusqu'au commencement du XVIII^e siècle: dans laquelle on considere l'origine, les progrès & les variations de la puissance ecclésiastique, relativement à l'état de la littérature, de la philosophie, & à l'histoire politique de l'Europe durant ce période* . . . Traduite de l'original latin . . . par Archibald Maclaine . . . et de l'anglois en françois. . . Maestricht: Jean-Edme Dufour & Philippe Roux, 1776. 6 vols. [2] l., 26 p., [1] l., 564 p.; [2] l., 505 p.; [2] l., 477 p.; [2] l., 536 p.; [2] l., 531 p.; [2] l., 439 p., [2] l. 20 ½ cm.

French translation of Mosheim's *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae* from the English translation (502).

- 547 **Valsecchi**, Antonino. *La religion vincitrice opera . . . relativa ai libri De' fondamenti della religione e dei fonti dell' empietà*. Padua: Stamperia del Seminario, 1776. 2 vols. 18 p., [1] l., 224 p.; 12, 299 p. 25 cm.

This work supplements Valsecchi's *Dei fondamenti della religione* (511). It examines in great detail, and then "destroys," such books as Woolston's *Discours sur les miracles* (521), Holbach's *Système de la nature* (524), Fréret's *Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne* (510) and other recently published writings by Holbach, Boulanger, and other *esprits forts*. Spinoza, Valsecchi repeats over and over, is at the root of their thought or forms its logical culmination (vol. 1, pp. 9, 45, 49, 67, 71, 107, 207; vol. 2, pp. 4, 209).

- 548 **Platner**, Ernst. *Philosophische Aphorismen nebst einigen Anleitungen zur philosophischen Geschichte*. Leipzig: Schwickert, 1776–1782. 2 vols. [1] l., 418 p., [5] l.; [1] l., 480 p., [4] l. 17 ½ cm.

Ernst Platner (1744–1818) was a professor first of medicine, later of philosophy, at the University of Leipzig. His chief work, *Philosophische Aphorismen*, follows, at least in this first edition, the doctrines of Leibnitz. His references to Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 263 f., 292 f., 319 f., 347 f., 348 f., 352–360) are superficial and thoroughly routine.

A new, in many ways different, edition appeared in 1790–1800 (597).

1777

- 549 **Lavater**, Johann Caspar. *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Befoerderung der Menschenkenntniss und Menschenliebe. Dritter Versuch. . . .* Leipzig und Wintherthur: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, etc., 1777. [6] l., 356 p., [4] l., [1] loose leaf ("An den Buchbinder."); plates. 31 cm.

Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801), Swiss patriotic poet and pietist theologian with a strong bent for mysticism, was responsible for a pseudo-scientific fad of his time, the development of a system of "physiognomy" as an exact means of determining the character of humans and even animals. His *Physiognomische Fragmente*, one of the most beautifully printed and most richly illustrated 18th century books, represents a comprehensive exercise in the new science which gained followers through all of Europe.

The plate preceding p. 277 is a copper engraving of Spinoza by Johann Heinrich Lips (1758–1817), a late version of the portrait bound into a few copies of *Opera posthuma* (696), and to which Lavater offers the following interpretation (pp. 277f.): "Not the best picture I have seen of Spinoza. Not in it are the strong eyebrows of the deep thinker — not in the lower contour of the nose the unchildlike search — not in the mouth the moderation and melancholy of the original . . . But, as it is — what an eloquent head! How the man is solidly based in and upon himself alone! How he travels his own path without regard for detractors or followers! How he formed himself, how he took roots in deep stillness! What quiet firmness in his forehead! What an amazing mind lies from between the eyebrows to the root of his nose! How much and deep his eyes see! How they search out all loose spots of each system crossing his way. How tired of thinking, inquiring, doubting — in his mouth which for sure is only half-true — how much wisdom and quiet nobility — mood and salt! The whole face a lovely blend of melancholy, battling with doubts, and philosophical ease — which produces the belief of having found the truth. His mien smiles the Voltairean verse: J'ai des plats écoliers et des mauvais critiques."

- 550 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Philosophische Schriften. Verbesserte Auflage.* Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss, 1777. 2 vols. Frontispiece, 22, 278 p.; [1] l., 283, [1] p. 14 1/2 cm.

The last edition of Mendelssohn's *Philosophische Schriften* (492) appearing during his lifetime.

- 551 **Zabuesnig**, Johann Christoph von. *Historische und kritische Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Schriften des Herrn von Voltaire und anderer*

Neuphilosophen unserer Zeiten. . . . Augsburg: Gebrueder Veith, 1777. 2 vols. Portrait, [2] l., 352 p., [3] l.; portrait, [2] l., 453, [3] p. 17 cm.

The first volume of Johann Christoph von Zabuesnig's work contains a biography of Voltaire; the second, a number of critical articles on deists and atheists, among them Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 397–409).

1778

- 552 **Du Voisin**, Jean Baptiste. *L'autorité des livres de Moyse, établie et défendue contre les incrédules.* Paris: Charles-Pierre Berton, 1778. 12, 512 p. 16 1/2 cm.

The Abbé Jean Baptiste Du Voisin (1744–1813), a professor at the Sorbonne, royal censor, and later, after the French Revolution and exile in Germany, bishop of Nantes, rejects the arguments of Bible criticism in the writings of Voltaire, Holbach and other *philosophes*, and points at Spinoza as one of their prime sources (pp. 71, 76, 79, 82, 88, 110, 250 f.).

- 553 **Magazin fuer die Philosophie und ihre Geschichte.** Aus den Jahrbuechern der Akademien angelegt von Michael Hissmann. . . . Goettingen und Lemgo: Meyersche Buchhandlung, 1778–1783. 6 vols. 364 p., [2] l.; 364 p., [2] l.; 382 p., [1] l.; 330 p., [2] l.; 358 p., [2] l.; 372, [2] p. 16 cm.

This journal, edited by Michael Hissmann (1752–1784), professor of philosophy in Goettingen, contains mostly translations of French essays which had originally appeared in the publications of learned societies. Among them is "Ueber das System des Spinoza, und ueber Bayle's Erinnerungen gegen dieses System," the translation of "Examen du Spinosisme," with which Philippe Jacob de Jariges (b. 1706), descendant of French refugees and perpetual secretary of the Royal Academy of Berlin, had opened the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Berlin*, 1745–1746. His essays (vol. 5, 1782, pp. 3–72) demonstrate the insufficiency of Bayle's Spinoza interpretation. Instead of paraphrasing Bayle once more, Jariges presents a well-founded analysis of Spinoza's relationship to Descartes, particularly with respect to the concept of extension.

The essay, "Betrachtungen ueber das mathematische Unendliche," by F. A. Achard (vol. 1, pp. 195–214), considers the concept of the mathematical infinite as particularly interesting because of its connection with Spinozism (p. 199).

1779

- 554 **Hennings**, August. *Philosophische Versuche.* Copenhagen: Godiches Wittwe, 1779 (1780). 2 vols. [1] l., 368 p.; 327 p. 16 cm.

August Hennings (1746–1826), a Danish government official and a friend of Lessing and Mendelssohn, was the author of philosophical books in which he eulogized reason and enlightenment.

In the essay "Toleranz" Hennings cites the call which Spinoza, the "atheist," received to teach at the University of Heidelberg as a fine example of unlimited tolerance (vol. 1, pp. 274 f.). He condemns the banning of Spinoza by the rabbis of Amsterdam (vol. 2, p. 142) and shows generally that he does not consider Spinoza an atheist (vol. 1, pp. 274 ff.) and that his own concept of God is close to Spinoza's (vol. 1, p. 235). His poem "Gott," vol. 2, pp. 229 ff. begins with the exclamation "Im Unendlichen ist der Unendliche."

- 555 **Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de. Letters addressed to His Highness the Prince of ****, containing, comments on the writings of the most eminent authors, who have been accused of attacking the Christian religion . . . A new translation. London: R. Trophy, etc., 1779. [2] l., 160 p. 18 cm.

An English translation of Voltaire's *Lettres à son Altesse Monseigneur le Duc De *****, 1767 (513).

- 556 **Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de. A treatise on toleration; The ignorant philosopher; and a commentary on the Marquis of Beccaria's Treatise on crimes and punishments. Translated from the last Geneva edition . . . by the Rev. David Williams. London: Fielding and Walker, 1779. Frontispiece, [2] l., 4, 224 p., [1] l., 3, 86 p.; [1] l., 50 p. 21 cm.

An English translation of three of Voltaire's writings, among them *Le philosophe ignorant* (505).

1780

- 557 [**Holbach**, Paul Heinrich Dietrich d']. *Système de la nature, ou des loix du monde physique et du monde moral*. Par Mirabaud, secrétaire perpétuel, & l'un des quarante de l'Académie Française. London, 1780. 2 vols. 12, 47, [1], 371 p.; [2] l., 464 p. 20 cm.

This new edition of Holbach's *Système de la nature* (524/5) is prefaced (vol. 1, pp. 1–47 following the table of contents) with a section called "Sentiment de Voltaire sur le Système de la nature" which contains the chapters on Holbach's book and on Spinoza from Voltaire's *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, 1770 f. (527), the poem "Sur le livre Des trois imposteurs" and a few other pieces by Voltaire.

- 558 **Ramsay**, André-Michel de. Die Reisen des Cyrus eine moralische Geschichte. Nebst einer Abhandlung ueber die Mythologie und alte Theologie . . . Aus

dem Franzoesischen uebersetzt von Matthias Claudius, mit einer Vorrede des Asmus. Breslau: Gottlieb Loewe, 1780. 445, 8 p. 17 ½ cm.

A German translation by Matthias Claudius of Ramsay's *Les voyages de Cyrus* (293) with a preface by Asmus, which name is but a pseudonym of the translator (569).

1781

- 559 [**Maréchal**, Sylvain]. *Ad maiorem gloriam virtutis. Fragmens d'un poème moral sur Dieu*. L'homme a dit: faisons Dieu; qu'il soit à notre image: Dieu fut; & l'ouvrier adora son ouvrage. Atheopolis [Paris]: L'an premier du regne de la raison, 1781. 91 p. 19 ½ cm.

Sylvain Maréchal (1750–1803), librarian at the Collège Mazarin in Paris, was the author of many atheistic writings using the jargon of the French Revolution; his *Dictionnaire des athées*, 1800 (627) is the best known. The *Fragmens* is Maréchal's first work; vehemently atheistic, it caused its author considerable trouble. The "virtuous Spinoza" is Maréchal's guide:

"Vertueux Spinosa, le fer d'un assassin, Bien loin de ralentir ton généreux dessein T'enflamma davantage; & ton âme aggrandie Se frayant une route encore plus hardie, D'une seule substance, alors tu fis l'aveu, Osas la démontrer, & l'univers fut Dieu." (p. 8)

1783

- 560 **Bure**, Guillaume de, fils aîné. Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Duc de La Vallière . . . contenant les manuscrits, les premières éditions, les livres imprimés sur vélin & sur grand papier, les livres rares, & précieux par leur belle conservation, les livres d'estampes, & c. dont la vente se fera dans les premiers jours du mois du Décembre 1783. Paris: Guillaume de Bure fils aîné, 1783. 3 vols. [1] l., portrait, [1] l., 64, 602 p.; plate; [1] l., 758 p.; [2] l., 388, 376, 92, 42, [1] l. 20 cm.

The catalogue of the famous collection of Louis-César Duc de La Vallière (1708–1780) lists a section of *Spinozistes*, nos. 948–951, books by Spinoza and Fénelon's *Réfutation*, 1731 (315).

- 561 Γνωθὶ σαποη oder **Magazin** zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde als ein Lesebuch fuer Gelehrte und Ungelehrte. Mit Unterstuetzung mehrerer Wahrheitsfreunde herausgegeben von Carl Philipp Moritz (vol. 52–72: C. P. Moritz und C. F. Pockels; vol. 73–83: Karl Philipp Moritz; vol. 91–103: Karl Philipp Moritz und

Salomon Maimon). Berlin: August Mylius, 1783–1793. 30 issues (10 vols.). 22 cm.

The *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde* is a pioneer work of the first order. The ten volumes of this journal contain important contributions to what was then considered pathological psychology and would today be considered data for psychoanalysis, depth-psychology, etc. Carl Philipp Moritz (1757–1793), German novelist and critic, was its first, and remained the most important, editor. The ninth and tenth volumes appeared under the combined editorship of Moritz and Salomon Maimon (594).

In vol. 9, 1791, p. 143, in an important statement Maimon declares that in his first book, the *Versuch ueber die Transcendentalphilosophie*, 1790 (594), he had attempted the *salto mortale* of combining Kantian philosophy with Spinozism, but that he now saw the impossibility of executing it.

1784

- 562 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Philosophische Schriften*. Troppau: Joseph Georg Trassler, 1784. 2 vols. 268 p.; 167 p., [1] l. 16 ½ cm.

Unauthorized reprint of Mendelssohn's *Philosophische Schriften* (492).

- 563 [**Schulz**, Johann Heinrich]. *Philosophische Betrachtung ueber Theologie und Religion ueberhaupt und ueber die juedische insonderheit*. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1784. 248 p. 17 cm.

Johann Heinrich Schulz (1739–1823) was a Protestant minister in small German towns whose first books led the Berlin Consistory to ask for his dismissal; the Prussian king, however, did not consent. Schulz' *Philosophische Betrachtung* created a sensation. Accusing Mendelssohn of being an orthodox Jew, and his kind of Judaism of being a fossilized monstrosity, it praised Spinoza, Vanini, Hobbes, and other like-minded thinkers as moralists (pp. 118 ff., 201 ff.). Schulz continued to write in a similar vein and lost his pulpit when the enlightened regime of Frederick the Great ended.

See also my notes on Schulz' *Der entlarvte Moses Mendelssohn*, 1786 (575).

1785

- 564 [**Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich]. *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn*. Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1785. [4] l., 215, [1] p.; inserted between pp. 48 and 49 are two unnumbered leaves containing Goethe's poem "Prometheus." 17 cm.

Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1740–1819), the "*Glaubensphilosoph*," had but one aim in the majority of his writings regardless of whether they were philosophical in the strict sense, fictional or polemical. Opposed to philosophical thinking that resulted in the construction of systems of philosophy, Jacobi invariably, whatever form his writing took, preached the virtues of unreflected "belief" and praised the immediacy of spiritual experience as superior to rational reasoning.

His *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* must be understood in that context. Jacobi, who had studied Spinoza's writings since his youth, maintains that Spinozism is the only perfectly logical philosophical system, but that it must be rejected because it contradicts the imperative needs of soul and heart. However, making this point was not the primary purpose of the book. It was prompted by a "misunderstanding" between him and Moses Mendelssohn, at the outset a minor personal affair, which grew into a literary *cause célèbre*, the *Pantheismusstreit*, in which the important literary personalities of Germany became involved. The character of the writers engaged in literary battle were discussed as much as, and sometimes more than, the philosophy of Spinoza. But when the long controversy (564–567, 569, 570, 572–575, 577, 581–587, 590, 591, 595, 619, 633, 642, 643) was over, it had stirred up enough interest in the Dutch philosopher, to lead to a new Spinozism as well as an impartial critical study of his life and works.

In July 1780, Jacobi spent a few days in Wolfenbuettel visiting Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (536). During his stay Jacobi showed his host a handwritten copy of a yet unpublished poem "Prometheus" by Goethe which he expected would antagonize Lessing. But much to his surprise, Lessing liked it. "The viewpoint from which the poem stems is my own viewpoint," he said to Jacobi after having read it. "The orthodox concepts of the deity are no longer right for me; I cannot enjoy them. 'Ev καὶ Παν! The One and the All. I know nothing else. If I should call myself after somebody, then I would not know anyone else but Spinoza.'" Jacobi, stunned to find in Lessing a Spinozist, asked whether Lessing had ever told his friend Mendelssohn of his attachment to Spinoza and Lessing answered "Never."

Jacobi kept Lessing's confession secret for three years. In 1783, however, when he heard that Mendelssohn planned to write a biography of his late friend Lessing — Lessing had died in 1781 — he informed Elise Reimarus, his and Mendelssohn's mutual friend, of his talk with Lessing and left it up to her whether she wanted to tell Mendelssohn. Elise Reimarus did; she wrote to Mendelssohn. Shocked and perplexed, Mendelssohn did not know whether to discard Jacobi's tale as a figment of imagination coming from a man of whose friendship with Lessing the latter had never told him or regard it as an exaggeration. Mendelssohn himself had expressed in his first book, the *Philosophische*

Gespraeche, 1755 (474), understanding words for Spinoza and possibly, he thought, Lessing had merely done the same. But a long report from Jacobi, one of many letters exchanged between Elise Reimarus, her brother Johann Albert Heinrich Reimarus, Jacobi, Mendelssohn, and others, convinced him that the fateful conversation was basically correct and, in a letter of November 18, 1783 to the two Reimaruses (670), he does not hesitate to acknowledge that he had wronged Jacobi. He said that he would use the information in his planned book about Lessing though he did not yet know how. As he points out in this and later letters, he was reluctant to write a detailed refutation of Spinozism and enter into a literary feud with Jacobi whose thinking was so alien to his. In an unpublished letter of April 10, 1784 from Elise Reimarus to him (673), Elise's brother still favored withholding from the public Lessing's "Spinozistic opinions." And Mendelssohn so decided, at least for the time being.

While Jacobi continued to send him letters and essays intended to provoke a public discussion of Lessing's Spinozism and Spinozism in general, Mendelssohn resolved to publish a book presenting his philosophy and his position with respect to Spinoza's philosophy without involving Lessing. Jacobi, angry about Mendelssohn's reluctance to meet him in open battle and aware that Mendelssohn was preparing his *Morgenstunden* (567) for publication, rushed into print. His *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564) came out in the early days of October, 1785, as did Mendelssohn's *Morgenstunden*.

Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza, anything but a systematic work, tells the story of Jacobi's visit to Wolfenbuettel. Goethe's poem "Prometheus" which started the controversy, printed here for the first time, is, as a footnote explains, inserted "with prudence," referring to the fact that it is printed on two unpaginated leaves, allowing a censor who would find it objectionable to remove them from the book without visible damage (565, 566). Many of the letters and essays which had been exchanged between Jacobi, Mendelssohn and their friends appear in Jacobi's book, partly to demonstrate his generosity in this matter, a generosity which he indicates remained unreciprocated, this being the reason he submitted the matter to the public, and partly to enunciate his opinion on Spinoza's philosophy and its followers.

To Jacobi, Spinozism is atheism; cabalistic philosophy is but an undeveloped or confused kind of Spinozism; the philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolff is as fatalistic as that of Spinoza; any kind of rational demonstration ends in fatalism; and the true element of human knowledge is belief. Thus Jacobi's book ends challenging the philosophy of enlightenment with a philosophical belief anchored in Christian faith.

The philosophical controversy following the publication of Jacobi's book and dying out only in the next century divided the literary establishment of Germany. Those eager to demolish *Aufklaerung*, led by Johann Georg Hamann,

and the enlighteners gathered in opposing camps. My copy is the one Jacobi sent to Hamann with the dedication "Meinem lieben Vater Hamann."

See also my notes on the second edition of this book, 1789 (591) and on Hemsterhuys, *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 1825-1826 (653).

- 565 [Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich]. Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn. Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1785. [5] l., [1] l. containing a revised version of pp. 11 and 12, 215, [1] p.; inserted between pp. 48 and 49 are two unnumbered leaves containing Goethe's poem "Prometheus." 18 ½ cm.

This copy contains on the reverse of the sixth leaf a printed instruction to the binder that in places where Goethe's atheistic poem, "Prometheus," might lead to a confiscation of the book, this poem, printed separately on unpaginated pages between pp. 48 and 49 could be removed without damage to the book. In such a case pages 11/12, referring to this poem, should be replaced by a cancel of pages 11/12 (also contained in this copy) which merely states that for good reasons the poem could not be printed. Only a few copies of the book in this state have survived (564, 566).

- 566 [Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich]. Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn. Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1785. [4] l., 215, [1] p.; inserted between pp. 48 and 49 are two unnumbered leaves containing Goethe's poem "Prometheus;" laid in as a loose leaf is the cancel of pages 11/12 which was to be used if Goethe's poem "Prometheus" was removed. 16 ½ cm.

See 564 and 565.

- 567 Mendelssohn, Moses. *Morgenstunden oder Vorlesungen ueber das Daseyn Gottes*. Erster Theil. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss und Sohn, 1785. [7] l., 330, 42 p. 18 cm.

Moses Mendelssohn was in a state of excitement and pain caused him by Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's relentless attempt to pressure him into a comprehensive discussion of his position with respect to Lessing's alleged Spinozism (564) when he decided to publish the first part of the *Morgenstunden* (all that ever appeared). Grown out of informal morning lectures he had given in his house for the benefit of his children and their friends, among them the brothers Humboldt, the *Morgenstunden* offers a systematic presentation of Mendelssohn's philosophy of religion and his thoughts on atheism and Spinozism without, however, relating them to Jacobi's insistence that Lessing had been a Spinozist. Mendelssohn was ill when he prepared the manuscript for the printer; see my notes on part of the manuscript (671). It was rushed to the

press and ready in October 1785, the last of Mendelssohn's books to appear during his lifetime.

Chapters 13–15 (pp. 213–285) deal in particular with Spinoza and pantheism. Mendelssohn criticizes Spinoza for composing the infinite out of an infinity of finite ideas – a clear misunderstanding of Spinoza – and proposes a “purified pantheism” in which God and world are separated although the One is all and the All is one.

- 568 **Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de. *Der unwissende Philosoph*. Aus dem Französischen. Berlin und Leipzig: Johann Georg Moessle, 1785. 176 p., [2] l. 16 ½ cm.
German translation of *Le philosophe ignorant* (505).

1786

- 569 [Claudius, Matthias]. *Zwey Recensionen &c. in Sachen der Herren Lessing, M. Mendelssohn, und Jacobi*. Hamburg: In Commission bey C.E. Bohn, 1786. 29 p. 20 cm.

The author of this pamphlet is Matthias Claudius (1740–1815), the German poet and editor of the *Wandsbecker Bothe*, who wrote under the name of “Asmus.” The pamphlet contains reviews of Jacobi’s *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564) and Mendelssohn’s *An die Freunde Lessings* (572). Although Claudius takes Jacobi’s side, he esteems Mendelssohn highly: “I have, as one says, a tendre for him – as a Jew because of his great forefathers and because of my religion.” Altogether Claudius treats the conflict between Mendelssohn and Jacobi in its general human, rather than philosophic, aspects.

- 570 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi wider Mendelssohns Beschuldigungen betreffend die Briefe ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*. . . . Leipzig: Georg Joachim Goeschen, 1786. Frontispiece, [1] l., 7, [1], 127 p. 17 cm.

Jacobi’s answer to Mendelssohn’s *An die Freunde Lessings* (572); it appeared not long after Mendelssohn’s death. By additional letters on the matter of Lessing’s Spinozism and a running commentary on Mendelssohn’s reasoning, Jacobi tries to justify his stand.

- 571 **Jakob**, Ludwig Heinrich. *Pruefung der Mendelssohnschen Morgenstunden oder aller spekulativen Beweise fuer das Daseyn Gottes*. . . . Nebst einer Abhandlung von Herrn Professor Kant. Leipzig: Johann Samuel Heinsius, 1786. [4] l., 60 p., [2] l., 334 p. 16 cm.

Ludwig Heinrich Jakob (1759–1827), professor of philosophy at the University of Halle, argues in this book from the viewpoint of Kant’s critical philosophy against the proofs of God presented in Mendelssohn’s *Morgenstunden* (567). In this context he also discusses, especially in the chapter “Ueber Idealismus, Epikureismus, und Spinozismus,” pp. 178 ff., Mendelssohn’s views on Spinoza.

Immanuel Kant contributed to Jakob’s book *Bemerkungen*, pp. XLIXLX, which in impersonal philosophic terms, expresses his fundamental reaction to the Mendelssohn-Jacobi controversy.

- 572 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Moses Mendelssohn an die Freunde Lessings*. Ein Anhang zu Herrn Jacobi Briefwechsel ueber die Lehre des Spinoza. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss und Sohn, 1786. 24, 87 p. 16 cm.

An die Freunde Lessings is the last work of Moses Mendelssohn (474); it appeared shortly after his death. Jacobi’s *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564) had wounded Mendelssohn deeply. It hurt him to see Lessing portrayed as an atheist and a man who kept his deepest convictions a secret from his friends. A public vindication of his great friend, Mendelssohn felt, had become his responsibility. And thus he set out to write *An die Freunde Lessings* to restore the image of Lessing the enlightener and to express his disdain for Jacobi who had wilfully distorted it. He wrote the book in great excitement; he had been sick for years and working on this book made him sicker. On the last day of December, 1785 he took the completed manuscript to the publisher; four days later he was dead.

Johann Jacob Engel (1741–1802), a popularizer of German Enlightenment, who had helped Mendelssohn prepare the *Morgenstunden* (567) for publication, completed the printing arrangements for the book. In his preface he stated that Jacobi’s attack was responsible for Mendelssohn’s death, a remark which added new bitterness to the polemic (see 574).

- 573 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Moses Mendelssohn an die Freunde Lessings*. Ein Anhang zu Herrn Jacobi Briefwechsel ueber die Lehre des Spinoza. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss und Sohn, 1786. 24, 87 p. 16 ½ cm.

Second issue of 572. It is printed on inferior paper, uses different ornamental lines and has on p. 19, line 5 the spelling “erzählet” whereas the first issue has “erzehlet.”

- 574 [Reichardt, Johann Friedrich, Marcus Herz, and David Friedlaender]. *Gelehrte Sachen*. [Remarks on] Moses Mendelsohn [sic] an die Freunde Lessings. Ein Anhang zu Herrn Jacobi Briefwechsel ueber die Lehre des Spinoza. Berlin, 1786.

(Erste Beylage zum 18ten Stueck der Koenigl[ich-] privilegierten Berl[inischen] Zeitung von 1786.) [2] l. 22 cm.

Soon after the posthumous publication of Mendelssohn's *An die Freunde Lessings* (572) in a supplement to the *Koeniglich-privilegirte Zeitung*, a Berlin newspaper, three friends of Moses Mendelssohn joined the controversy started by the statement in the preface to that book that Jacobi's insistence on Lessing's Spinozism had been the cause of Mendelssohn's sudden death.

Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814), composer and “conductor to the King of Prussia,” Frederick the Great, rejected the accusation by reporting a discussion he had with Mendelssohn in which Mendelssohn had not shown any special concern about Jacobi's *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564). Marcus Herz (1747–1803), Mendelssohn's physician, and David Friedlaender (1750–1834), a disciple of Mendelssohn and later a leader of Berlin Jewry, refuted Reichardt's report.

- 575 [Schulz, Johann Heinrich]. Der entlarvte Moses Mendelsohn oder voellige Aufklaerung des raethselhaften Todverdrusses des M. Mendelsohn ueber die Bekanntmachung des Lessingschen Atheismus von Jacobi. Amsterdam [Berlin], 1786. 120 p. 15 ½ cm.

Johann Heinrich Schulz (563) offers a new explantion of the emotional distress Mendelssohn displayed in his *An die Freunde Lessings* (572). Mendelssohn, says Schulz, had provoked the ire of the enlightened, even atheistic Jews of Berlin, when, in 1783, he upheld orthodox Judaism in his *Jerusalem*. Schulz's *Philosophische Betrachtung*, which demolished Mendelssohn's theory of Judaism and gave support to the enlightenend Jews, had driven him into a corner and his position would have become completely untenable had it become an accepted fact that his friend Lessing was an atheistic Spinozist. Desperate, Mendelssohn tried all the tricks in his bag to denounce Jacobi as a liar and his friends, knowingly or naively, lent him their support.

- 576 [Schulz, Johann Heinrich]. Philosophische Betrachtung ueber Theologie und Religion ueberhaupt und ueber die juedische insonderheit. Zweyte unveraenderte Auflage. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1786. 248 p. 16 ½ cm.

New title edition of Schulz' book of 1784 (563).

- 577 [Wizenmann, Thomas]. Die Resultate der Jacobischen und Mendelssohnschen Philosophie; kritisch untersucht von einem Freywilligen. . . . Leipzig: G.J. Goeschen, 1786. 255 p., [1] l. 16 cm.

Thomas Wizenmann (1759–1787), a young protégé of Jacobi, living at the time he wrote this book in his patron's house, had shown him the manuscript and Jacobi had recommended it in the introduction to his *Wider Mendelssohn's Beschuldigungen betreffend die Briefe ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (570). Wizenmann's book, which disregards the personal aspects of the *Pantheismusstreit*, is a skillful presentation of Christian positivism against Mendelssohn's rationalism and Spinoza's atheism.

1787

- 578 [Boulainvilliers, Henri de]. Spinoza II. oder Subiroth Sopim. “Rom, bey der Wittwe Bona Spes. 5770.” [Berlin: Friedrich Vieweg, 1787] 12, 116 p. 17 cm.

A German translation by an unknown translator and editor of *Traité des trois imposteurs* (or *L'esprit de Spinoza*) (539, 665, 667). *Subiroth Sopim* is the syllabic reading backward of *Im-pos-thoribus*. Added to the translation is, among others, *Eine historische Nachricht dieses sehr raren Buches* containing a translation of De la Monnoie's *Sur le traité de tribus impostoribus*.

I have followed van der Linde (*Benedictus Spinoza bibliografie*, no. 103) in setting 1787 as the year of publication. The Baer catalogue of Jacob Freudenthal's library has it as 1785 and Ed. Boehmer (“Spinozana” in *Zeitschrift fuer Philosophie*, vol. 36, 1860, p. 159) believes that the year 5770 in the imprint points to 1770. However a remark on *Spinoza II.* in Karl Heinrich Heydenreich's *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza*, 1789 (590), a book completed in 1788, bears out van der Linde's date (p. LXXX).

- 579 Conz, Carl Philipp. Moses Mendelssohn, der Weise und der Mensch. Ein lyrisch-didaktisches Gedicht in vier Gesaengen. Stuttgart: Johann Benedict Mezler, 1787. [12] l. 85 p. 18 ½ cm.

Carl Philipp Conz (1762–1827), a poet and theologian, was professor of classic literature at the University of Tuebingen. Moses Mendelssohn's death in 1786 inspired Conz to write a “Lehrgedicht,” a didactic poem, on the philosopher as “a sage and a man.” The proceeds from the sale of the book went to poor Jewish families.

Conz contrasts Mendelssohn's teleologic proof of God with Spinoza's concept of world and God forming in their fusion “Nature, a formless colossus, a thousand-armed monster full of blind forces without will and reason.”

- 580 Freret, Nicolas. Oeuvres. London, 1787. 5 vols. 16, 221 p.; [4] l., 304 p.; [4] l., 232 p.; [4] l., 8, 214 p.; [4] l., 191 p. 14 ½ cm.

The collected works of Nicolas Fréret contain his *Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne*, 1767 (510) and *Lettre de Thrasibule à Leucippe*, 1768 (516).

- 581 **Herder**, Johann Gottfried. Gott . . . Einige Gespraech. Gotha: Karl Wilhelm Ettinger, 1787. 8, 252 p. 16 cm.

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), German poet and philosopher, taking the Mendelssohn-Jacobi Spinoza controversy (564, 570, 572) as his point of departure, wrote this book to “set forth his philosophical creed in its fullest detail.” Coming to the defense of Spinoza, whom Herder does not regard as an atheist, he builds his and Shaftesbury’s ideas into a dynamic pantheism. As protagonist of an organic philosophy of history, Herder rejected enlightenment and Mendelssohn. But neither was he attracted to Jacobi’s slant. The *Pantheismusstreit* had prompted him, as it had Goethe, to study Spinoza and his prime concern was neither Mendelssohn nor Jacobi, but Spinoza.

- 582 **Heydenreich**, Karl Heinrich. Animadversiones in Mosis Mendelii filii refutationem placitorum Spinotzae . . . viro doctissimo Carolo Gottlob Sonntag . . . summos in philosophia honores gratulatus est amicorum quorundam. . . . Leipzig: Solbrig, [1787]. 15, [1] p. 21 ½ cm.

Karl Heinrich Heydenreich (1764–1801), later professor of philosophy at the University of Leipzig, discusses in this congratulatory offering Mendelssohn’s rejection of Spinoza’s philosophy in his *Morgenstunden* (567). Two years later he discussed more fully Spinoza’s concepts of nature and God in support of Jacobi’s position in his book *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza* (590).

- 583 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. David Hume ueber den Glauben oder Idealismus und Realismus. Ein Gespraech. Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1787. 9, [1], 230 p. 16 ½ cm.

In *David Hume ueber den Glauben*, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi develops his concept of *Glaubensphilosophie* and defines his differences from Kant. He asserts that the certainty of what cannot be proved by demonstration rests on belief. Published two years after Jacobi *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564), the book refers to it often. There, Jacobi says, he first made use of the concept of *Glaube* — belief which penetrates to the essence of things (p. iv). His dissertation on *Idealism and realism*, too, is, according to Jacobi, an elaboration of statements in his Spinoza letters (p. vii). On pp. 78 ff. he tells how he became acquainted with the writings of Spinoza.

- 584 **Mirabeau**, Honoré Gabriel Riquetti comte de. Sur Moses Mendelssohn, sur la reforme politique des Juifs: et en particulier sur la révolution tentée en leur faveur en 1753 dans la grande Bretagne. London [Paris], 1787. [34] l., 130 p. 19 ½ cm.

Honoré Gabriel Riquetti comte de Mirabeau (1749–1791), French statesman and political writer, traveled in Germany and arrived in Berlin when the *Pantheismusstreit*, the *querelle* between Moses Mendelssohn and Jacobi, was at its height (564–567, 569, 570, 572–575, 577, 581–583). In his book which deals mainly with the political condition of the Jews and its improvement, Mirabeau takes the part of Mendelssohn against Jacobi (pp. 37 f.).

- 585 **Mirabeau**, Honoré Gabriel Riquetti comte de. Ueber die buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden, und insbesondere ueber die zum Besten derselben im Jahr 1753 in England vorgefallene Veraenderung . . . Aus dem Franzoesischen mit Anmerkungen. Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1787. [1] l., 204 p., [1] l. 16 ½ cm.

German translation of Mirabeau’s *Sur Moses Mendelssohn*, 1787 (584).

- 586 **Rehberg**, August Wilhelm. Ueber das Verhaeltniss der Metaphysik zu der Religion. Berlin: August Mylius, 1787. 6, 175 p., [1] l. 15 cm.

August Wilhelm Rehberg (1757–1836), writer on philosophy and politics, prompted by the Jacobi-Mendelssohn *Pantheismusstreit* (564, 570, 572), shows that all metaphysics leads to Spinoza. For the philosopher there is no other choice but between Spinozism and a rejection of any metaphysics in line with Kant’s philosophy.

- 587 [**Schuetz**, Friedrich Wilhelm]. Leben und Meinungen Moses Mendelssohn [sic], nebst dem Geiste seiner Schriften in einem kurzen Abrisse dargestellt. Hamburg: Moellerische Buchhandlung, 1787. Portrait, [6] l., 200 p., [2] l. 16 cm.

This reverent biography of Mendelssohn by Friedrich Wilhelm Schuetz (1758–1819), a German writer on history, freemasonry and tolerance, devotes much space to a discussion of the Mendelssohn-Jacobi controversy on Spinozism (564, 567, 570, 572). Schuetz, without ever getting its complex meaning, carefully follows its course, clearly standing on Mendelssohn’s side. Schuetz is even inclined to believe that Jacobi’s manner was somewhat responsible for Mendelssohn’s death (preface, p. [1], pp. 92 ff., 101–122, 127, 130 ff., 144–156, 181–188).

1788

- 588 **Kant**, Immanuel. Kritik der praktischen Vernunft. Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1788. 292 p. 20 ½ cm.

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), the founder of “critical philosophy,” professor at the University of Koenigsberg, states that, regardless of the absurdity of its basic idea, Spinozism presents a conclusive argument — more conclusive than

the theory of creation — concerning the relationship between a first cause and its creations in time if they are regarded as substances.

- 589 **Schulze**, Gottlob Ernst. *Grundriss der philosophischen Wissenschaften*. Wittenberg und Zerbst: Samuel Gottfried Zimmermann, 1788–1790. 2 vols. [10] l., 413, [1] p.; 10, 434 p. 17 ½ cm.

Gottlob Ernst Schulze (1761–1833), professor of philosophy in Helmstaedt and Goettingen, became in his later works, especially in *Aenesidemus* of 1792, one of the most incisive critics of Kant. The *Grundriss* sees in Spinoza the philosopher who developed the concept of emanation, which had been a product of fantasy, into an exact system resting on *a priori* principles of reason (pp. 336–366).

1789

- 590 **Heydenreich**, Karl Heinrich. *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza*. Erster Band. Leipzig: Joh. Gottfr. Muellersche Buchhandlung, 1789. 80, 224 p. 18 cm.

Karl Heinrich Heydenreich (582), was a follower of Kant; but he stood by Jacobi when the discussion about the true understanding of Spinoza divided the philosophers. *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza*, of which only this first volume appeared, aims at presenting a complete summary and unbiased examination of Spinoza's system. Heydenreich confesses that, unlike many of the new "critical philosophers," he found value in the great metaphysical system builders of the past. In fact, he sides with those who in recent years had stated that Spinoza's system was the most logical kind of metaphysical speculation.

The book opens with a translation of J. M. Lucas' biography of Spinoza from a manuscript of *La vie et l'esprit de Mr. Benoit de Spinoza* (665) which Heydenreich owned.

- 591 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn*. Neue vermehrte Ausgabe. . . Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1789. Portrait, [1] l., 51, [1], 440 p., [1] l. [this leaf should have been bound between pp. 258 and 261]. 18 cm.

This second edition of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's book, which started the *Pantheismusstreit* (564), is enlarged by many appendices: an excerpt from Giordano Bruno (whom Jacobi compares to Spinoza); Hemsterhuys on atheism; a contribution by Hamann; basic questions on the interpretation of Spinozism; a comparison between Spinoza and Leibnitz; an essay on speculative philosophy and Spinozism; a discussion of Rehberg's opinion on Spinozism, as outlined in his *Ueber das Verhaeltniss der Metaphysik zu der Religion*, 1787 (586); etc.

The portrait of Spinoza, an engraving by Ernst Carl Thelott of Duesseldorf (1760–1839) is not contained in many copies of the work; the portraits of Mendelssohn and Lessing on the title page, and that of Jacobi on the last page, are also by Thelott.

- 592 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Kleine philosophische Schriften*. Mit einer Skizze seines Lebens und Charakters. Berlin: Friedrich Vieweg, 1789. [3] l., 250 p. 15 ½ cm.

This is a collection of small ephemeral pieces by Moses Mendelssohn (474) which had originally appeared in various literary journals. The editor, Daniel Jenisch (1762–1804), minister and professor in Berlin, prefaced the collection with a biographical sketch on Mendelssohn; pp. 52–56 deal with the Mendelssohn-Jacobi Spinoza controversy (564, 567, 572).

1790

- 593 **Knoblauch**, Karl von]. *Anti-Taumaturgie oder die Bezweiflung der Wunder*. Loretto [Berlin], 1790. 198 p. 17 cm.

The author of this radically anti-religious book is Karl von Knoblauch (1757–1794), an administrative official in one of the small German states, about whom little is known, except that he wrote a few equally rare anonymous pamphlets propagating his opposition to religion and was a friend of the French revolution.

The *Anti-Taumaturgie* opens with an essay "Ueber Wunder, ein Versuch nach Spinozens Grundsätzen" (pp. 7–46, see also p. 97), a recapitulation of Spinoza's refutation of miracles. Altogether, and not only where he is expressly quoted, "Father Spinoza" (p. 51) is Knoblauch's revered model.

- 594 **Maimon**, Salomon. *Versuch ueber die Transcendentalphilosophie mit einem Anhang ueber die symbolische Erkenntniss und Anmerkungen*. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss und Sohn, 1790. [7] l., 444 p., [1] l. 16 ½ cm.

Salomon Maimon (1753–1800), a Lithuanian Jew, fled from ghetto life, denounced orthodox Judaism and came to Germany. There, through self-study, living in poverty as a migrant scholar, he became an outstanding interpreter of Kant's philosophy and an original thinker in his own right. His *Versuch ueber die Transcendentalphilosophie* (594) is, according to the author's *Lebensgeschichte* (603) (vol. 2, pp. 253 f.), a "combination system" of Kant and Spinoza, or, as he put in in a note in the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde* (561) (vol. 92, 1791, p. 143), in this book he tried the *salto mortale* of combining Kantian philosophy with Spinozism. Nevertheless, in the *Transcendentalphilosophie* Maimon wards off the possible misunderstanding that he propounded Spinozism (pp. 365 ff.).

- 595 **Philipson, Moses.** *Leben Benedikt's von Spinoza.* Braunschweig: Verlag der Schulbuchhandlung, 1790. 120 p. 15 1/2 cm.

Moses Philipson (b. 1761) was, like his friend Moses Mendelssohn, a book-keeper; he lived in Hanover and played a small part in the efforts toward emancipation of the Jews in Prussia. His Spinoza biography, the first written by a Jew, was prompted by the renewed interest in the philosopher caused by the Mendelssohn-Jacobi Spinoza controversy (564, 567, 570, 572). Philipson makes a noble effort to corral as many sources as were available to him and draw an objective picture of Spinoza, whose character he admired, but whose opinions he did not share.

- 596 **Heydenreich, Karl Heinrich.** *Betrachtungen ueber die Philosophie der natuerlichen Religion.* Leipzig: Weygandsche Buchhandlung, 1790–1791. 2 vols. [3] l., 272 p., [1] l.; 252, 6 p. 20 cm.

Karl Heinrich Heydenreich, who had discussed Spinoza's philosophy in two earlier writings, *Animadversiones*, 1787 (582), and *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza*, 1789 (590), presents in this book a "critique and refutation of the fundamental principles of Spinozism" from the Kantian viewpoint (vol. 1, pp. 258–272; see also p. 46 f.) and "remarks concerning the concept of creation understood as the formation of an eternal chaos against the theory of emanation and Spinozism" (vol. 2, pp. 162–175).

- 597 **Platner, Ernst.** *Philosophische Aphorismen nebst einigen Anleitungen zur philosophischen Geschichte.* Neue durchaus umgearbeitete Ausgabe (vol. 2: Ganz neue Ausarbeitung). Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1790; vol. 2: Leipzig: Schwickert, 1800. 2 vols. [3] l., 502 p., [9] l.; 16, 848 p. 17 1/2 cm.

This new edition of Platner's *Aphorismen* differs from the first (548) in contents and slant. Completely revised, it leans toward a skeptical eclecticism. Platner's remarks on Spinoza have benefited from the revision (vol. 1, pp. 312–315: the system of Spinoza; p. 376: miracles; pp. 430 f.: Spinoza's denial of final causes; p. 435: Spinoza no materialist; vol. 2, pp. 213–217: Spinoza on mind and will).

1791

- 598 **Encyclopédie méthodique** (par une société de gens de lettres, de savans et d'artistes). *Philosophie ancienne et moderne.* Par M. Naigeon. Paris: Panckoucke, etc., 1791–1794. 3 vols. [2] l., 26, 858 p.; [2] l., 940 p.; [2] l., 964 p., [1] l. 27 cm.

When, in 1780, the great *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert was completed, it appeared dated to some and the plan was conceived to prepare a new, more methodic one, which would, based on the first, more clearly enunciate the trends of the new philosophy. Its first volume appeared in 1782. Jacques André Naigeon (1738–1814), litterateur and compiler, who had contributed a few articles to the first *Encyclopédie* and become Diderot's closest friend and interpreter, was in charge of the philosophical articles.

An anonymous article on Spinoza is found in vol. 3, pp. 566–581 ("Spinosisme ou Philosophie de Spinoza"). The article "Spinosises" by Diderot (p. 581), is reprinted, as are most contributions by Diderot, from the old *Encyclopédie* (see also 625). The two chapters on Spinoza from Toland's *Letters to Serena* (149) appear in French translation (pp. 700–725), taken from the French translation of 1768 of Toland's book (518).

- 599 [Maimon, Salomon, comm.] *More nebuchim. Sive liber Doctor perplexorum auctore R. Mose Majemonide arabico idiomate conscriptus, R. Samuele Abben Thibbone, in linguam hebraeam translatus, novis commentariis uno R. Mosi Narbonnensis, ex antiquissimis manuscriptis depromto; altero anonymi cujusdam, sub nomine Gibeath hamore adauctus, nunc in lucem editus cura et impensis Isaaci Eucheli.* Berlin: Officina Scholae Liberae Judaicae [Juedische Freyschule], 1791. Hebrew title: ... עם ... משה בן מימון ... ספר מורה נבוכים להרב ... פירוש הרב התוקר המקובל החכם הפילוסוף משה נרבוני ופירוש גבעת המורה. [10], 108, [1] l. 22 cm.

The anonymous author of *Gibeath hamore*, a Hebrew commentary on the first part of Maimonides' *More Nebuchim* (Guide for the perplexed), the main work of medieval Jewish philosophy, is Salomon Maimon (594). His commentary is not the usual kind that closely follows a text. Maimon intended to clarify passages in Maimonides' book which were in need of amplification and explanation; but, more than that, he desired to supplement Maimonides' medieval views with those at which later philosophical and scientific scholarship had arrived. "The commentary," said an announcement in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* of 1792, "is a quintessence of the choicest opinions of old and recent metaphysicians, scientists and mathematicians, and contains treasures of the finest concepts."

In *Gibeath hamore* Maimon cites the arguments which Moses Mendelssohn had used against Spinoza and presents a shortened version of chapters XIII and XIV of Mendelssohn's *Morgenstunden* (567), which contain his refutations of Spinozism and pantheism (l. 100b ff.). "We exist as the effects of God, but not within Him," Maimon says, but he concedes, "the real is one in all creatures and therefore there can be only one substance."

1792

- 600 **Ascher**, Saul. *Leviathan oder Ueber Religion in Ruecksicht des Judenthums*. Berlin: Frankesche Buchhandlung, 1792. [5] l., 246 p. 18 cm.

Saul Ascher (1767–1822), a writer in Berlin who often meddled in politics and was arrested for opposition to the ruling regime, is one of the Jewish litterateurs of the post-Mendelssohnian period who attacked the anti-Semitism rising during the German period of romanticism. This early book is directed against the theory Mendelssohn had propounded in his *Jerusalem*, that Judaism is revealed law. Ascher counters that it is basically a universal religious idea. In this connection he interprets Spinoza's attitude toward Judaism (pp. 147–149). Spinoza, says Ascher, separated faith from reason, rejected whatever did not agree with reason, and, because he knew Jewish religion well, he used it to demolish all religion.

- 601 **Kant**, Immanuel. *Critic der practischen Vernunft*. Zweyte Auflage. Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1792. 292 p. 19 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1788 (588).

- 602 **Zwey** seltene antisupernaturalistische Manuscripte eines Genannten und eines Ungenannten. *Pendants zu den Wolfenbuettelschen Fragmenten*. Berlin [Giessen], 1792. [1] l., 94 p. 14 cm.

This little book contains a reprint of the Latin *De tribus impostoribus*, which represents the second appearance in print of this falsification, and a reprint of Theodor Ludwig Lau's Spinozistic *Meditationes philosophicae de Deo, mundo, homine*, of 1717 (246).

C.C.F. Schmid of Giessen, Germany, about whom nothing is known, was the editor of this small collection of heretic writings. The entire edition was confiscated; only a few copies escaped.

- 603 **Maimon**, Salomon. *Salomon Maimon's Lebensgeschichte*. Von ihm selbst geschrieben und herausgegeben von K[arl] P[hilipp] Moritz. Berlin: Friedrich Vieweg, 1792–1793. 2 vols. Portrait, [3] l., 292 p.; [6] l., 284 p. 16 cm.

Maimon's frank autobiography was edited by his friend Karl-Philipp Moritz (1757–1793), the novelist and writer on aesthetics and psychology, with whom he shared for a few years the editorship of the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, 1783 ff. (561). In the autobiography, Maimon asserts that the Cabala is nothing but "expanded Spinozism" (vol. 1, p. 141) and Spinozism not atheistic at all, but, quite the contrary, namely "acosmic" (pp. 153 ff.). He reports on his reading of Spinoza whose system, much to the regret of Mendelssohn, he ac-

cepted (vol. 2, pp. 165 ff.), and he sides with Jacobi while expressing sympathy for the injustice done to Mendelssohn (pp. 184 ff.; see 564, 570, 572). Lastly, he explains the role that Spinozism played in his *Versuch ueber die Transcendental-philosophie* (594).

1793

- 604 **Bacon**, Francis. *Neues Organon*. Aus dem Lateinischen uebersetzt von Georg Wilhelm Bartholdy. Mit Anmerkungen von Salomon Maimon. Zwei Baende [only vol. 1 appeared]. Berlin: Gottfried Carl Nauck, 1793. 112, 305 p.; plate. 20 cm.

Salomon Maimon (594) contributed to Bartholdy's German translation of Bacon's *Novum organon* an introduction and "Kurzer Ueberblick philosophischer Systeme, und mathematischer Erfindungen bis auf Baco von Verulam" (pp. 164–305). The survey of philosophic systems contains a chapter on Xenophanes as Spinozist (pp. 184 ff.; see also 607), and another on Parmenides as Spinozist (pp. 188 ff.).

- 605 [Boulainvilliers, Henri de]. *Traité des trois imposteurs*. En Suisse, de l'imprimerie philosophique, 1793. [1] l., 168, 3 p. 15 ½ cm.

This edition contains the same text and appendices as the edition of 1775 (539).

- 606 **Kant**, Immanuel. *Critik der Urtheilskraft*. Zweyte Auflage. Berlin: F.T. Lagarde, 1793. 60, 482 p. 19 ½ cm.

In the *Critik der Urtheilskraft*, Kant (588) presents his most extensive discussion of Spinoza. Spinoza's system is one of fatalism (pp. 322 f.); it does not fulfill its promise (pp. 325 ff.). In fact, an honest Spinoza has no other alternative than to accept the existence of a moral cause of the universe, namely God, if he desires to maintain morally prescribed purposes.

- 607 **Maimon**, Salomon. *Streifereien im Gebiete der Philosophie*. Erster Theil. Berlin: Wilhelm Vieweg, 1793. 22, 272 p. 20 cm.

The first part of the *Streifereien* (no more was published) contains, among other pieces, "Ueber die Progressen der Philosophie," which Salomon Maimon (594) wrote when angered by what he considered a foolish philosophical prize contest of the Berlin Academy. The essay deals *in extenso* with the compatibility of Leibnitz' and Spinoza's doctrines (pp. 37 ff.); it discusses the difference of Xenophanes' "All is one" from Spinoza's (pp. 32 f.).

- 608 **Meslier**, Jean. *Mémoire des pensées et sentimens . . . sur une partie des abus et des erreurs de la religion chrétienne, pour être adressé à ses paroissiens après*

sa mort, et pour leur servir de témoignage de vérité à eux et à leurs semblables. Dunkirk: Drouillard, An second de la République Française, une et indivisible, [1793/4]. 240 p. 14 ½ cm.

See my notes on my manuscript of Meslier's *Mémoire* (672).

- 609 **Lessing**, Karl Gotthelf. Gotthold Ephraim Lessings Leben, nebst seinem noch uebrigen litterarischen Nachlasse. Berlin: Vossische Buchhandlung, 1793–1795. 3 vols. Portrait, [1] l., 452 p., [5] l.; [2] l., 395, [1] p.; 28, 404 p. 15 ½ cm.

The biography of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (536) by his younger brother Karl Gotthelf (b. 1740), a writer and civil servant, contains interesting information on Lessing's attitude toward Spinoza. It provides previously unknown data on Lessing's early Spinoza studies (vol. 1, p. 246). The chapter on Lessing's philosophy and theology (vol. 2, pp. 20–88) deals mainly with the Mendelssohn-Jacobi controversy (564, 567, 570, 572) and tries to answer the question whether Lessing was really a Spinozist — the brother does not think so. Lastly, the biography made known two unfinished essays by Lessing (pp. 164–171) which might indicate Lessing's pantheistic leanings (pp. 93 ff.). In the first Lessing declares that he cannot conceive of a reality of things outside God; in the second he tries to convince Mendelssohn, who was preparing a new edition of his *Philosophische Schriften* (492), that Leibnitz had not derived his concept of preestablished harmony from Spinoza.

1794

- 610 **Eberstein**, Wilhelm Ludwig Gottlob von. Versuch einer Geschichte der Logik und Metaphysik bey den Deutschen von Leibnitz bis auf gegenwaertige Zeit. Halle: Johann Gottfried Ruff, 1794–1799. 2 vols. [6] l., [524] p.; [1] l., 12 p., [1] l., 508 p., [2] l. 20 cm.

In this history of logic and metaphysics post Leibnitz, Wilhelm Gottlob von Eberstein (1762–1805), a German philosopher whose eclecticism leans heavily on Wolff, surveys the discussion of Spinoza in recent German philosophy by such writers as Jacobi (564, 570, 572), Reimarus (536), Rehberg (586), Herder (581), Heydenreich (582, 590, 596), and Ewald (700, 702) (vol. 2, pp. 116–158; see also vol. 1, pp. 20 f. and 439).

1795

- 611 **Bernis**, François-Joachim de Pierres de. La religion vengée[.] Poème en dix chants. Parma: Dans le Palais Royal [Bodoni], 1795. [1] l., portrait, [13] l., 243, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

François-Joachim de Pierres de Bernis (487) began to write this long poem in 1737. Father René-Joseph Tournemine, the editor of the Jesuit *Mémoires de Trévoux* (203), had encouraged him to translate Cardinal de Polignac's at the time unpublished *Anti-Lucretius* (419) into French, but Polignac advised Bernis to write his own poem against anti-religious philosophies. *Le Spinosisme* (pp. 77–95), Bernis' poetic refutation of Spinoza's philosophy, was written when Bernis was 22 years old, but the full poem was published by Joseph Nicolas d'Azara only after the cardinal's death.

A folio-edition appeared in the same year (612).

- 612 **Bernis**, François-Joachim de Pierres de]. La religion vengée[.] Poème en dix chants. Parma: Dans le Palais Royal [Bodoni], 1795. Portrait, [11] l., 226, [1] p. 43 cm.

The rare folio-edition printed by Bodoni of Parma; see my notes on the octavo-edition of the same year (611).

- 613 **Schelling**, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph. Ueber die Moeglichkeit einer Form der Philosophie ueberhaupt. Tuebingen: Jakob Friedrich Heerbrandt, 1795. 62 p. 17 ½ cm.

Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), with Fichte and Hegel one of the great German philosophers of the post-Kantian period, tries to determine in this, his first, publication the position of Spinoza between Descartes and Leibnitz, and states that Spinoza felt the need to give a foundation to the form of human knowledge by carrying the archetypal form of knowledge away from the ego to an entirely different and independent total of possibilities (p. 38).

1796

- 614 **Bernis**, François-Joachim de Pierres de. La religion vengée[.] Poème en dix chants. Ouvrage posthume. N. p., 1796. 175 p. 22 ½ cm.

Unauthorized reprint of Bernis' poem (611).

- 615 **Boulainvilliers**, Henri de]. Traité des trois imposteurs, des religions dominantes et du culte, d'après l'analyse conforme à l'histoire: contenant nombre d'observations morales, analogues à celles mises à l'ordre du jour pour l'affermissement de la République, sa gloire, et l'édification des peuples de tous les pays. . . . Philadelphia: Sous les auspices du général Washington; Paris: chez le citoyen Mercier; etc., 1796. [2] l., 77 p., [1] l.; 3 plates. 18 cm.

This edition of the *Traité des trois imposteurs* (665, 667, 539) was edited and published by Claude-François-Xavier Mercier of Compiègne (1763–1800), an

anthologist and publicist working for the cause of the French Revolution. By interspersing the reprint with revolutionary songs and poems, Mercier underlines the topicality of the old anti-religious tract. The edition was published in Paris, and, of course, the imprint "A *Philadelphie, sous les auspices du general Washington*" and the colophon, p. 77, "A *Boston, sous la protection du congrès*" are plain fancy.

- 616 **Reinhold**, Carl Leonhard. *Auswahl vermischter Schriften*. Jena: Johann Michael Mauke, 1796–1797. 2 vols. [3] l., 350 p.; 16, 430 p. 17 cm.

Carl Leopold Reinhold (1758–1823), a German philosopher, was professor at the University of Jena, and consecutively a follower of Kant, Fichte and Jacobi. According to him, the entire history of metaphysics consists of three main epochs of which Spinoza represents the second (vol. 2, p. 150), and his concept of "absolute substance" carries the pantheistic system to perfection (pp. 161–175, 178).

1797

- 617 **Blackmore**, Richard. *The poetical works of Sir R. Blackmore: containing Creation; a philosophical poem, in seven books. To which is prefixed the Life of the author. . .* London: Cooke, (1797). Frontispiece, 176 p., [2] l.; plates. 14 cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1712 (196).

- 618 "Spinoza" in: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; or, a Dictionary of arts, sciences, and miscellaneous literature; constructed on a plan by which the different sciences and arts are digested into the form of distinct treatises or systems . . . The third edition . . . greatly improved. Vol. 17, title page and pp. 693–698. Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. Macfarquhar, 1797. 28 cm.

This undistinguished essay on Spinoza's life and teachings was probably edited by George Gleig (1753–1840), later bishop of Brechin. Though recognizing that Spinoza's life was "a perpetual contradiction to his opinions," the article harps on Spinoza's "insincerity," and expresses the hope that his politics "shall never be seriously taught by any British subject."

- 619 **Kant**, Immanuel. *Saemmtliche kleine Schriften. Nach der Zeitfolge geordnet*. Koenigsberg und Leipzig, 1797–1798. 4 vols. [3] l., 494 p.; [2] l., 526 p.; [3] l., 612 p.; [2] l., 152 p. 17 ½ cm.

Immanuel Kant (588) twice expressed his philosophical opinions on the Mendelssohn-Jacobi controversy about Spinozism, in "Was heisst sich im

Denken orientiren?" (vol. 3, pp. 275–304) and "Einige Bemerkungen zu Jacobs Pruefung der Mendelssohnschen Morgenstunden" (pp. 305–314).

The first essay, originally published in *Berliner Monatsschrift*, 1786, also contains his defense against those critics who found that his *Critik der reinen Vernunft* supported Spinozism (pp. 296–298); the second was first printed as an appendix to Ludwig Heinrich Jakob, *Pruefung der Mendelssohnschen Morgenstunden*, 1786 (571).

1798

- 620 [**Claudius**, Matthias]. *Asmus omnia sua secum portans, oder Saemmtliche Werke des Wandsbecker Bothen*. "Beym Verfasser, und in Commission bey Fr. Perthes in Hamburg," [1798–1802] (vols. 1–7 in 6); "1812. Auf Kosten des Verfassers." (vol. 8). 8 vols. in 7. Frontispiece, 16, 232 p.; 10, 198 p.; 6 p., [1] l., 248 p.; 8, 224 p.; 6, 212 p., [1] l.; frontispiece, 14, 326 p.; 8, 246 p.; plates. 14 ½ cm.

Claudius' *Zwey Recensionen in Sachen der Herren Lessing, M. Mendelssohn und Jacobi*, 1786 (569) is found in vol. 5 [1798], pp. 170–203.

1799

- 621 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. *Jacobi an Fichte*. Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1799. 10 p., [1] l., 160 p. 22 ½ cm.

Jacobi and Fichte is one of the polemical writings connected with the *Atheismusstreit* of 1798. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (629) had been accused of atheism and Jacobi used the opportunity to establish once more the God of his *Glaubensphilosophie* in this long letter to Fichte.

In ingenious manner Jacobi recognizes that Fichte's speculative philosophy may be understood as a kind of "reversed Spinozism" (pp. 3 f.). He compares Fichte's alleged atheism with Spinoza's. Although the philosophy was atheistic, the philosopher was not; indeed the philosophy of the "great, nay Saint Benedictus" is religion similar to Fénelon's (pp. 40 ff.); see also p. 91.

See also *Ueber den Briefsteller Jacobi*, 1800 (628).

- 622 **Nieuhoff**, Bernardus. *Over Spinozisme*. Harderwijk: J. van Kasteel, 1799. [3] l., 372 p. 22 cm.

Bernardus Nieuhoff (1747–1831), Dutch writer, orator and professor of philosophy, announces in the preface that he will present the views of Spinoza objectively and neither defend nor refute him. Actually, however, the book is an unqualified eulogy of the philosopher. Equipped with a thorough knowledge

of Spinoza's books and the Spinoza literature, Nieuhoff discusses Spinoza's life, his character, the history of Spinozism and the main concepts and problems of his philosophy. The spirit in which this is done is indicated by Nieuhoff's choice of mottoes, namely quotes from Sylvain Maréchal (559) and Vanini.

- 623 [Schleiermacher, Friedrich]. Ueber die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verehrern. Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1799. [2] l., 312, [1] p. 20 cm.

In his significant *Ueber die Religion*, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), theologian, philosopher and a main exponent of the German Romantic movement, laid the foundation for a new understanding of religion as a matter of immediate intuition. Here is found the poetic homage to Spinoza so expressive of the new attitude towards the philosopher: "Offer with me reverentially a lock as a sacrifice to the manes of sacred cast-out Spinoza! The supreme world spirit pervaded him; the infinite was his beginning and end, the universe his sole and eternal love. In sacred innocence and deep humility he reflected in the eternal world and looked on how he, too, was its lovable mirror. He was full of religion and filled with holy spirit, and therefore he stands, alone and unrivalled, master in his art but above the profane guild, without disciples and citizenship" (p. 54 f.).

1800

- 624 Berger, Immanuel. Geschichte der Religionsphilosophie oder Leben und Meinungen der originellsten Denker aller Zeiten ueber Gott und Religion, historisch dargestellt. Berlin: Langische Buchhandlung, 1800. [2] l., 8 p., [1] l., 450 p. 20 cm.

Johann Gottfried Immanuel Berger (1773–1803), German professor of theology, regards Spinoza's philosophy as a "masterpiece of the human spirit" and the culmination of the Cartesian trend toward making the whole of philosophy into philosophy of religion. Spinoza is, as Berger repeats after Herder, an "arch-theist before all theists" (pp. 396–409).

- 625 Diderot, Denis. Oeuvres . . . publiées sur les manuscrits de l'auteur, par Jacques-André Naigeon. . . Paris: Deterville, an VIII [1800]. 15 vols. 17 cm.

The second edition of Diderot's works published by his friend Jacques-André Naigeon (598). The edition contains, in vol. 1, *Principes de la philosophie morale* (532) and *Pensées philosophiques* (409), and in vol. 7, p. 299, the article "Spinosistes" from the *Encyclopédie* (598); see also vol. 5, p. 467 and vol. 6, pp. 90 and 96.

- 626 Herder, Johann Gottfried. Gott. Einige Gespraechen ueber Spinozas System; nebst Shaftesbury's Naturhymnus. Zweite, verkuerzte und vermehrte Ausgabe. Gotha: Karl Wilhelm Ettinger, 1800. 24, 336 p. 15 ½ cm.

The second edition of Herder's *Gott*; the changes from the first edition of 1787 (581) do not affect the general tenor of the book.

- 627 M[aréchal] L, Sylvain. Dictionnaire des athées anciens et modernes. Paris: Grabit, an VIII [1800]. [2] l., 72, 524 p. 21 cm.

Sylvain Maréchal (559) wrote the *Dictionnaire* inspired by the astronomer Lalande who, like Maréchal, indulged in his atheistic opinions with almost mystical enthusiasm. The book lists many thinkers of the past and many contemporaries as Spinozists or atheists — and therefore truly moral men (pp. xxxv, 14, 42, 51, 52, 56, 82, 92, 100, 102, 181, 184, 186, 193, 202, 204, 222, 236, 240, 250, 280, 286, 296, 328, 332, 338, 409, 432, 471, 510, 521). Spinoza himself is eulogized on pp. 446 ff.

- 628 Ueber den Briefsteller Jacobi an Fichte. N. p., 1800. 4, 52 p. 16 cm.

This little book by an unknown author is a critique of Jacobi's *Jacobi an Fichte*, 1799 (621). It points out Jacobi's illogic and misunderstandings, and includes in its criticism Jacobi's references to Spinoza (pp. 3 f., 18 ff., 40 ff., 45).

1802

- 629 Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre. Neue unveränderte Auflage. Tuebingen: Johann George Cotta, 1802. 12, 448 p. 21 cm.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), professor of philosophy in Jena and Berlin, one of the great system builders of the post-Kantian period, offers in the *Grundlage* (originally published in 1794) the foundations of his theory of knowledge. In it he defines his new relation to the position of Spinoza who, Fichte states, accepted the unity of "empirical consciousness" but totally denied "pure consciousness." There exist only two completely consistent systems, the critical which recognized the limit of the "I am" and the Spinozistic one which transcends it (pp. 14 f., 44).

- 630 Garve, Christian. Ueber das Daseyn Gottes. Eine nachgelassene Abhandlung . . . Aus dem funften Theile der Versuche besonders abgedruckt. Breslau: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1802. 8, 290 p. 16 cm.

Christian Garve (1742–1798), a professor of philosophy at the University of Leipzig and later a member of the Berlin Academy, expounds in this posthumous book the principles of natural religion. In an appendix, “Ueber das theologische System des Spinoza” (pp. 282–290), Garve concludes that Spinoza, like the theists, used a merely metaphorical expression to denote the relation between world and God.

- 631 **Massillon**, Jean Baptiste. Sermons . . . To which is prefixed the Life of the author. Selected and translated by William Dickson . . . A new edition. London: W. Baynes, 1802. 3 vols. 12, 213 p., [1] l.; [2] l., 246 p.; [2] l., 267, 12 p. 19 cm.

English translation of the famous sermons of Jean Baptiste Massillon (1663–1742), the French bishop and member of the Congregation of the Oratory. In his Lent sermon “Des Doutes sur la religion,” he included a fiery attack on “that monster Spinoza” (vol. 3, pp. 42 f.). Nourrisson, *Spinoza et le naturalisme contemporain*, Paris, 1866, p. 124, dates the sermon as of 1698; Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française*, vol. 1, 1954, p. 286, dates it as prior to 1704.

1803

- 632 **Berkeley**, George. Alciphron, or The minute philosopher. In seven dialogues. Containing an apology for the Christian religion, against those who are called free-thinkers . . . The first American, from the fourth London edition. New Haven: Increase Cooke & Co., 1803. 13, 388 p., [1] l. 21 cm.

The first American edition of *Alciphron* (317).

- 633 **Garve**, Christian. Briefe . . . an Christian Felix Weisse und einige andere Freunde. Breslau: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1803. 2 vols. 14, 464 p.; [1] l., 398 p. 16 cm.

In his letters to Christian Felix Weisse, the poet and dramatist who was one of the editors of the *Neue Bibliothek der schoenen Wissenschaften und Kuenste*, Garve (630) reports on developments in the Mendelssohn-Jacobi *Pantheismusstreit* (vol. 1, pp. 232, 239 f., 244 f., 270, 371 ff.) and his own study of Spinoza (p. 293), of whose methods and results he disapproves.

- 634 **Kausler**, Carl Ludwig Friedrich. Dissertatio philosophica sistens disquisitiones quasdam in Spinozam. Quam praeside . . . Andrea Henrico Schott logices, metaphysices, eloquentiae et poeseos prof. publ. ord. pro summis in philosophia honoribus obtinendis . . . publice defendet auctor Carolus Ludovicus Frider. Kausler. . . Tuebingen: Litteris Hopfferianis, (1803). 26 p. 20 ½ cm.

Kausler's dissertation and its evaluation by his teacher, the Tuebingen professor of philosophy Andreas Heinrich Schott (pp. 25 f.), demonstrate the influence

of Jacobi's Spinoza interpretation on academic teaching. Kausler identifies Spinozism with the contemporaneous philosophy of absolute identity.

1804

- 635 **Schott**, Andreas Heinrich. Dissertatio historico-philosophica de Spinozismo. Quam praeside Andrea Henrico Schott philos. theoreti. eloqui. ac poesi. prof. p.o. pro obtinendis magisterii philosophici honoribus . . . publice defendent Fridericus Gustavus Schoder, Lauffensis. Ernestus Fridericus Hochstetter, Tubingensis. [Etc.] Tuebingen: Reis et Schmid, [1804]. 48 p. 20 ½ cm.

This dissertation presents a survey of the books and controversies of the past two decades which concerned themselves with Spinoza. It is followed by a number of propositions dealing with Spinoza's philosophy which eight candidates for master's degrees defended with Professor Schott presiding (634).

1806

- 636 **Peignot**, Etienne Gabriel. Dictionnaire critique, littéraire et bibliographique des principaux livres condamnés au feu, supprimés ou censurés: précédé d'un discours sur ces sortes d'ouvrages. Paris: A.A. Renouard, 1806. 2 vols. 40, 343 p.; [2] l., 295 p. 20 ½ cm.

In this dictionary of suppressed books — which itself was suppressed — Etienne Gabriel Peignot (1767–1849), French bibliographer, lists and comments on the works of Spinoza and of Spinozists. Spinoza's books and those attributed to him are described in vol. 2, pp. 131 f., 142–144; Lucas' Spinoza biography in vol. 1, pp. xxxvii f.; Lau (246, 602); Cuffeler (50); Stosch (674); Toland (149, 251); Boulainvilliers (665–667) are among the Spinozists whose writings are discussed (vol. 1, p. 232; vol. 2, pp. 144–146, 160 ff., 211).

- 637 [**Schleiermacher**, Friedrich]. Ueber die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verehrern. Zweite Ausgabe. Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1806. [1] l., 9, [1], 372 p. 22 cm.

Second edition of Schleiermacher's *Ueber die Religion* (623).

1808

- 638 **Francke**, Georg Samuel. Versuch ueber die von der erlauchten Koeniglich-Daenischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Kopenhagen im Jahr 1805 bekannt gemachte Preisfrage: “Quaenam fuere recentiore ac recentissimo aevo

fata Spinozismi, si tamen verus est, qui hodie a quibusdam perhibetur Spinozismus. Nocuitne an profuit rei philosophicae in universum et speciatim philosophicae de Deo?" Oder: ueber die neuern Schicksale des Spinozismus und seinen Einfluss auf die Philosophie ueberhaupt und die Vernunfttheologie insbesondere . . . Eine Schrift, welche den fuer 1805 ausgesetzten Preis erhalten hat. . . Schleswig: Serringhausen, 1808. [4] l., 16 p., [2] l., 98, [1] p. 20 cm.

Georg Samuel Francke (1773–1840), teacher, pastor and, since 1811, professor of theology at Kiel, Germany, was all his life a proponent of Wolff's philosophy. His book, a prize-winning work written for the Royal Society of Sciences at Copenhagen, deals with the more recent development of Spinozism and its influence on philosophy in general and rational theology in particular. Francke, though far from being theologically dogmatic and recognizing that Spinozism is not identical with atheism, nevertheless points out the damage its pantheistic consequences can cause.

1809

- 639 **Schelling**, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph. *Philosophische Schriften*. Erster Band. Landshut: Philipp Kruell, 1809. 12, 24, 511 p. 21 cm.

This first volume of the *Philosophische Schriften* of Schelling (613) — no further volume of collected writings appeared during his life-time — contains works published earlier as well as the *Philosophische Untersuchungen ueber das Wesen der menschlichen Freyheit*, published here for the first time.

Vom Ich als Princip der Philosophie, 1795, pp. xiii–xxiv, 1–114, presents the outline of a system à la Spinoza in which the absolute *Ich* fills the role of Spinoza's Substance; *Philosophische Briefe ueber Dogmatismus und Criticismus*, 1795, pp. 115–200, shows Schelling closest to being a Spinozist — it is filled throughout with deep admiration for Spinoza; *Philosophische Untersuchungen ueber das Wesen der Freyheit*, pp. 397–511, summarizes once more Schelling's views on Spinoza in his period of Neo-Spinozism (pp. 412–419, especially pp. 417 ff.).

1810

- 640 **Castres**, Antoine Sabatier de. *Apologie de Spinosa et du Spinosisme, contre les athées, les incrédules et contre les théologiens [sic] scolastiques-platoniciens*. Paris: Fournier frères, 1810. [2] l., 4, 136 p. 17 ½ cm.

Abbé and protégé of Helvétius at the same time, Antoine Sabatier de Castres (1742–1817) led a strange double life. His book is equally strange and confused. He eulogizes Spinoza as the most misjudged of the sages, "a modest and vir-

tuous man who lived like a Christian and who, instead of being put at the head of the enemies of God, should have been made a saint" (p. 13). Amazingly enough, de Castres declares that the Protestants were among the first to attack and decry Spinoza because they could not forgive him for having embraced the Catholic religion (p. 42).

1811

- 641 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. *Von den goettlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung*. Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1811. 8, 222 p. 19 ½ cm.

Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi returns in this, his last, book to his old obsession with Spinoza (564, 570, 583, 621). Schelling is accused of a Spinozising pantheism (p. 127). Spinoza, Jacobi declares, is the inventor and first teacher of the "system of absolute identity" (pp. 193 ff.) and Kant is the founder of a second "sublime Spinozism" (pp. 196 ff.).

Schelling refuted Jacobi's attack a year later in his *Denkmal der Schrift von den goettlichen Dingen* (643).

1812

- 642 **Fries**, Jakob Friedrich. *Von deutscher Philosophie Art und Kunst*. Ein Votum fuer Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi gegen F. W. J. Schelling. Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1812. 102 p., [1] l. 18 ½ cm.

Jakob Friedrich Fries (1773–1843), one of the most original post-Kantian German philosophers, was for some time neglected, but is now recognized as one of the truly important figures in German philosophy besides Fichte, Schelling and Hegel.

In 1811, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi published *Von den goettlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung* (641) in which he attacked Schelling's "philosophy of identity" as Spinozism. Schelling replied in his *Denkmal der Schrift von den goettlichen Dingen* (643). In the same year, 1812, Fries' book appeared — a vote in favor of Jacobi. The chapter "Jacobi's Gabe und seine Fehler" (pp. 38 ff.) reviews the by then old Jacobi-Mendelssohn controversy about Lessing's Spinozism and the subsequent polemics of Jacobi against Kant, Fichte and Schelling. In each instance Jacobi was right, Fries states.

- 643 **Schelling**, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph. *Denkmal der Schrift von den goettlichen Dingen etc. des Herrn Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi und der ihm in derselben gemachten Beschuldigung eines absichtlich taeuschenden, Luege redenden Atheismus*. Eh, proh dolor! res eo jam pervenit, ut, qui aperte fatentur,

se Dei ideam non habere et Deum nullo modo cognoscere, non erubescant, philosophos atheismi accusare. Ben. de Spinoza. Tuebingen: J.G. Cotta, 1812. 6 p., [1] l., 215, [1] p. 21 cm.

This book is Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling's (613, 639) reply to Jacobi's *Von den goettlichen Dingen* which had appeared the year before (641). A formidable counterattack against Jacobi's attempt to denounce Schelling as atheist and Spinozist, it uses sharp irony and bitter indignation to demonstrate Jacobi's insidious character. Schelling reviews at length (pp. 35–62) Jacobi's role — a questionable one in Schelling's opinion — in the controversy with Moses Mendelssohn (564, 570, 572).

This book created a tremendous commotion. The most noteworthy writing of those who took Jacobi's side was Jakob Friedrich Fries' *Von deutscher Philosophie*, 1812 (642).

- 644 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. Werke. Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1812–1825. 6 vols. (vol. 4 in 3 parts). [1], 16, 404 p., [1] l.; 6, 544 p.; 36 p., [2] l., 568 p.; 54 p., [1] l., 253 p.; [1] l., 276 p.; 6, 430 p.; 20, 482 p.; 6, 552 p. 22 ½ cm.

The collected works of Jacobi, of which the first three volumes were edited by the author and the rest, following his death, by Friedrich Koeppen and Friedrich Roth, contain the following books related to Spinoza: *David Hume ueber den Glauben, oder Idealismus und Realismus*, 1787 (583) (vol. 2, pp. 1–310); *Jacobi an Fichte*, 1799 (621) (vol. 3, pp. 1–57); *Von den goettlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung*, 1811 (641) (vol. 3, pp. 245–460); *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*, 1785 and 1789 (564, 591), (vols. 4₁ and 4₂). New introductions have been added to most of them; the introduction to *David Hume*, etc., vol. 2, pp. 1–123, is at the same time an introduction by Jacobi to all of his works and defines once more his attitude towards Spinoza. Volume 4₃ contains the correspondence between J.G. Hamann and Jacobi, and is filled with references to Spinoza; so is other correspondence in vol. 1, pp. 384, 394 and vol. 3, pp. 467, 491 ff., 500 f., 519, 521 ff., 529 ff.

1813

- 645 **Wolff**, Sabattia Joseph. Maimoniana. Oder Rhapsodien zur Charakteristik Salomon Maimon's. Aus seinem Privatleben gesammelt. Berlin: G. Hayn, 1813. 8, 260 p., [2] l. 17 ½ cm.

Sabattia Joseph Wolff, a friend of Salomon Maimon, was a physician about whom little is known. In 1819 he published a pamphlet against the German anti-Semitic writers of that time and called himself in it "an old man for whom there is little joyful in the world anymore."

The *Maimoniana* contains mostly anecdotal material on the life and work of the Lithuanian Jew who became one of the most forceful and independent

interpreters of Kant's philosophy (594). Some of Wolff's material is first-hand, some evidently taken from Maimon's *Lebensgeschichte*, 1792–1793 (603). Wolff talks about Maimon's Spinoza studies and Mendelssohn's reaction to them (p. 57); he suggests that Maimon's low opinion of men stemmed from Spinoza (p. 157 f.). He compares Maimon's neglect of his dress to Spinoza's (p. 215); and feels that the decent burial Spinoza received testifies to a more enlightened spirit among his contemporaries than was shown on the occasion of Maimon's death (p. 253).

1815

- 646 **Lommatzsch**, Bernhard Heinrich Carl. De deo Spinozae commentatio critica quam . . . pro venia scholas habendi A.D.XI. mensis Martii a. MDCCCXV. publice defendet Bernard. Henr. Carolus Lommatzsch. . . Jena: Schlotter, [1815]. [1] l., 13, [1] p. 22 ½ cm.

Bernhard Heinrich Carl Lommatzsch, a Hegelian who taught philosophy, in this thesis written to qualify him for academic teaching, discusses Spinoza's concept of God much in Jacobi's manner.

- 647 [**Hardenberg**, Friedrich Leopold von]. Novalis Schriften. Herausgegeben von Ludwig Tieck und Friedrich Schlegel (vol. 3: Ludwig Tieck und Ed[ward] v. Buelow). Berlin: (vol. 1 and 2:) Realschulbuchhandlung, 1815; (vol. 3:) G. Reimer, 1846. 3 vols. (vol. 1 and 2: Dritte Auflage). Portrait (from vol. 3), 38 p., [1] l., 264 p.; [2] l., 291 p.; 14, 324 p. 16 ½ cm.

Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg (1772–1801), better known under his nom de plume, Novalis, was one of the great poets of the German romantic movement. Spinoza, with whom he became acquainted through his early study of Fichte and Schelling (613, 629, 639, 643) plays an important role in Novalis' mystical and philosophical conceptions. His characterization of Spinoza as "Gott-trunkener Mensch," God-intoxicated man, and Spinozism as "oversaturation with divinity" (vol. 2, p. 265) deeply influenced the German romanticists. Novalis considers Spinozism as realistic idealism founded on higher belief (p. 120); he is intrigued by Spinoza's "idea of a categorical, imperative, beautiful or perfect knowledge, a self-satisfying knowledge, a knowledge annihilating all other knowledge" and characterizes it as a "voluptuous knowledge," the kind which underlies all mysticism (pp. 251 f.); see also vol. 3, p. 139.

1817

- 648 **Coleridge**, Samuel Taylor. Biographia literaria; or biographical sketches of my literary life and opinions. London: Rest Fenner, 1817. 2 vols. [2] l., 296 p.; [2] l., 309, [3] p. 20 ½ cm.

Influenced by the German Spinoza renaissance, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), the English poet, became an enthusiastic reverer of Spinoza; his Spinoza studies and his talks about Spinoza with his friends introduced the philosopher to 19th century English literature. Spinoza, says Coleridge, refined the system of dualism introduced by Descartes (vol. 1, pp. 128 ff.); his ethics are compatible with religion (p. 144) and pantheism is not necessarily irreligious (pp. 248 ff.). Coleridge tells of his difficulties in reconciling personality with infinity when his head was with Spinoza and his heart with Paul and John (p. 196 and vol. 2, pp. 156 f.). His literary biography concludes with his credo that Pauline doctrine harmonizes with Spinoza's *Ethica* (vol. 2, pp. 307 ff.).

- 649 **Herbart**, Johann Friedrich. *Gespraech ueber das Boese*. Koenigsberg: August Wilhelm Unzer, 1817. 8, 184 p. 14 cm.

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), who at the time he wrote this book occupied Kant's chair at the University of Koenigsberg, developed a realistic philosophy in opposition to Kant's critical philosophy as well as to the systems of Fichte and Hegel. His teachings exercised a strong influence on the 19th century university philosophy of Germany. In *Gespraech ueber das Boese* he introduces a follower of Spinoza and demonstrates, by refuting his ideas on evil, natural law, self-love of God and freedom, the falseness of modern philosophies influenced by Spinoza.

1821

- 650 **Shelley**, Percy Bysshe. *Queen Mab*. London: W. Clark, 1821. 182 p., [1] l. 23 cm.

Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), the English poet, was a student of Spinoza. During the winter of 182½ he was working on an English translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* for which Byron was to write the introduction. A Latin quote from the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* with its English translation appears in the notes on *Queen Mab* (p. 142), a poem remarkable for its unorthodox views of morals and religion.

1822

- 651 **Staeudlin**, Carl Fridrich. *Geschichte der Moralphilosophie*. Hanover: Helwing, 1822, 22, 1055 p. 20 ½ cm.

Carl Fridrich Staeudlin (1761–1826), professor of theology at the University of Goettingen, a theological rationalist following Kant, who later turned supernaturalist, concludes his critical summary of Spinoza's ethical views (pp. 762–744)

with the statement that Spinoza corrupted and falsified all ethical ideas, judgments and feelings of man (p. 772).

1825

- 652 **Krug**, Wilhelm Traugott. *Spinozae de iure naturae sententia denuo examinata. Symbolarum ad historiam philosophiae particula quarta qua philosophiae doctorum et ll. aa. magistrorum creationem annuam d. xvii. Febr. a. MDCCCXXV. in ordinis philosophorum conclavi peractam. . . .* Leipzig: Starit, (1825). 20 p. 22 cm.

Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770–1842), professor of philosophy at the University of Leipzig, summarizes Spinoza's statements on natural law on the occasion of the awarding of doctoral and master's degrees.

- 653 **Hemsterhuys**, François. *Oeuvres philosophiques*. Nouvelle édition, revue, augmentée, et accompagnée d'une notice sur Hemsterhuys, et d'un coup d'oeil sur sa philosophie, par Sylvain van de Weyer. . . . Louvain: Fr. Michel, 1825–1826. 2 vols. 24, 581 (misprinted as 381), [3] p.; [3] l., 318 p., [1] l.; plates. 15 ½ cm.

Franz Hemsterhuys (1721–1790), a Dutch government official, and author of aesthetic and psychological writings, was an intimate friend of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi whose philosophical views about religion he shared. The second volume of his *Oeuvres* contains, pp. 115–139, a letter from Jacobi to Hemsterhuys which first appeared in Jacobi's *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*, 1785 (564) and which, as the editor says (vol. 1, p. xi), gives an idea of Spinoza's system and an analysis of the system of Hemsterhuys.

1826

- 654 **Raumer**, Friedrich von. *Ueber die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Begriffe von Recht, Staat und Politik*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1826. 8, 234 p. 18 cm.

Friedrich von Raumer (1781–1873), professor of history at the University of Berlin and a friend of many German romanticists, presents a detailed rejection of Spinoza's ideas on law and state (pp. 44–52), although his friend Wilhelm Ferdinand Solger (655) referred to Spinoza in a letter to him as "our mutual teacher."

- 655 **Solger**, Wilhelm Ferdinand. *Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel*. Herausgegeben von Ludwig Tieck und Friedrich von Raumer. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1826. 2 vols. 16, 780 p.; [1] l., 784, [1] p. 20 ½ cm.

Wilhelm Ferdinand Solger (1770–1819), one of the most important writers on aesthetics and philosophy of religion of the German Romantic school, was professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin.

His posthumous works and his letters, published by Ludwig Tieck, the poet, and Friedrich von Raumer (654), his university colleague, testify to the strong influence Spinoza had on Solger, see vol. 1, pp. 131, 144, 145 ff. (to Raumer: “our mutual teacher Spinoza”), 150, 152, 170, 175 (“the dear words of the pure, naive sage”); other references pp. 512, 580, 599, 605.

- 656 **Jaesche**, Gottlob Benjamin. *Der Pantheismus nach seinen verschiedenen Hauptformen, seinem Ursprung und Fortgange, seinem speculativen und praktischen Werth und Gehalt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Kritik dieser Lehre in alter und neuer Philosophie*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1826–1832. 3 vols. 8, 240 p.; 58, 325, [3] p.; [1] l., 32, 404 p. 19 1/2 cm.

Gottlob Benjamin Jaesche (1762–1842), professor of philosophy at the University of Dorpat (Estonia), was a friend of Kant whose philosophy he first accepted, later turning to the viewpoints of Jacobi and Fries. His book discusses Spinoza’s pantheism in great detail (*Der Pantheismus der neuern realistisch-dogmatischen Metaphysik, als Spinozismus*, vol. 2, pp. 221–325). Jaesche also deals with the relation of Spinoza’s philosophy to pantheistic philosophies of others, see in particular vol. 1, pp. 2, 10–46, 52, 60 ff., 97 ff.; vol. 2, pp. XII–LVIII; vol. 3, pp. XIV, XXVII and throughout this volume where he discusses mainly Fichte, Schelling and Hegel.

Heinrich Ritter, *Die Halbkantianer und der Pantheismus*, 1827 (658) disputes the first volume of Jaesche’s work.

1827

- 657 **Hegel**, Georg Friedrich Wilhelm. *Encyclopaedie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* . . . Zweite Ausgabe. Heidelberg: Osswald, 1827. 42, 544 p. 19 1/2 cm.

The *Encyclopaedie*, in which Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770–1831) for the first time offered the whole of his philosophy, appeared in 1817, but only the second edition of 1827 contains the passages which are pertinent to Hegel’s attitude toward Spinozism. According to Hegel, if correctly understood, Spinozism is neither pantheism nor atheism but acosmism (pp. XIV–XVI, 59–61, 528).

- 658 **Ritter**, Heinrich. *Die Halb-Kantianer und der Pantheismus. Eine Streitschrift, veranlasst durch Meinungen der Zeit und bei Gelegenheit von Jaesche’s Schrift ueber den Pantheismus*. Berlin: T. Trautwein, 1827. 8, 91, [1] p. 19 cm.

Heinrich Ritter (1791–1869), a professor of philosophy at the universities of Berlin, Kiel and Goettingen, who developed a Christian theism, wrote this book to refute the first volume of Gottlob Benjamin Jaesche’s *Der Pantheismus nach seinen verschiedenen Hauptformen*, 1826 (656). Ritter criticizes Jaesche’s understanding of Spinoza, pp. 5, 16, 19–22. Jaesche, he says, makes the mistake of regarding Spinozism as “consistent pantheism” by following Jacobi’s interpretation (564) and not even considering Herder’s milder explanation (581) (pp. 19–22, see also pp. 5, 16).

1828

- 659 **Herbart**, Johann Friedrich. *Allgemeine Metaphysik, nebst den Anfaengen der philosophischen Naturlehre*. . . . Koenigsberg: August Wilhelm Unzer, 1828–1829. 2 vols. 30, 608 p.; 22, 679, [1] p. 20 cm.

Johann Friedrich Herbart, who in his *Gespraechen ueber das Boese*, 1817 (649) had rebuked Spinoza in relatively mild fashion, rejects him in strong terms in his *Allgemeine Metaphysik*. He recommends the study of Spinoza because his errors must be evident to every unbiased reader. He blames the recent philosophers, men like Jacobi, Schleiermacher and Schelling, for having glorified Spinoza. But his analysis of Spinoza’s philosophies often goes to the core. Thus Herbart, who stimulated some of his students to study the various aspects of Spinoza’s system, stands at the demarcation line between a predominantly *weltanschauliche* attitude toward Spinoza and the objective scholarly study of his system. See, in particular vol. 1, pp. XXVII f. (Spinoza vs. Kant), 123–127, 128–150 (“Ontologie des Spinoza”), 150–168 (“Kosmologie des Spinoza”), 169–177 (“Vergleichung zwischen Spinoza, Leibnitz und Kant”), 180, 183 ff., 192 ff., 200 ff., 206 ff., 290 ff., 493 ff.

1829

- 660 **Fichte**, Immanuel Herrmann. *Beitraege zur Charakteristik der neueren Philosophie, zu Vermittlung ihrer Gegensatze*. Sulzbach: J.E. v. Seidel, 1829. [1] l., 30, 416 p. 18 cm.

Immanuel Herrmann Fichte (1796–1879), son of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, was professor of philosophy in Bonn and Tuebingen and, in opposition to Hegel, the proponent of an “ethical theism.” In his *Beitraege*, he examines Jacobi’s philosophy with special reference to Spinoza, goes back to the roots of current philosophy and concludes that Spinoza must be considered as its dialectical point of departure (pp. 195 ff., 205 ff., 228 ff., 263–271).

1830

- 661 **Fichte**, Immanuel Herrmann. Johann Gottlieb Fichte's Leben und litterarischer Briefwechsel. . . . Sulzbach: J.E. v. Seidel, 1830–1831. 2 vols. Portrait, 16, 584 p.; 14, 474 p. 18 cm.

The first volume, containing the biography of Johann Gottlieb Fichte (629) by his son, Immanuel Herrmann (660), mentions Fichte's Spinoza studies and details his subsequent positions with respect to Spinoza (pp. 28 ff., 300 ff., 419, 423). A letter from Fichte to Reinhold on his and Schelling's closeness to Spinoza appears in the second volume which contains the correspondence (p. 236).

1831

- 662 **Marbach**, Gotthard Oswald. Gedächtnissrede auf Benedict von Spinoza, gehalten vor einer Versammlung seiner akademischen Mitbuerger am 21. Februar 1831. Halle: Friedrich Ruff, 1831. 31 p. 21½ cm.

Gotthard Oswald Marbach (1810–1890), a professor at the University of Leipzig and a follower of Hegel, gave this memorial lecture while still a student. Well-meaning but naive, it is greatly based on the biography which Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus included in his edition of Spinoza's *Opera . . . omnia*, 1802 (701).

1832

- 663 **Fichte**, Immanuel Herrmann. Ueber Gegensatz, Wendepunkt und Ziel heutiger Philosophie. . . . Erster kritischer Theil. Heidelberg: J. H. B. Mohr, 1832. 300 p. 21½ cm.

Immanuel Herrmann Fichte (629) discusses in this work (only the first part appeared) the relationship between Hegel and Spinoza (pp. 39–52). Fichte considers Hegel's system as "the methodical completion of Spinoza's ethics"; Hegel's philosophy is an "objective system of philosophy" of which Spinoza provided the "first draft."

- 664 **Freystadt**, Moritz. Philosophia cabbalistica et pantheismus. Ex fontibus primariis adumbravit atque inter se comparavit Dr. M. Freystadt. Koenigsberg: Borntraeger, 1832. 15, 143, [1] p. 20 cm.

Moritz Freystadt (ca. 1810–1870), shows in this, his first, book, dedicated to his teacher Herbart, that the Cabala and pantheism substantially differ. Pantheism is atheism and the Cabala theistic. Spinozism and Schelling's system of absolute

identity are perfect forms of dualistic pantheism (pp. 95–98). There are certain similarities between the Cabala and Spinozism (pp. 102 f., 110 f.), but the differences are basic (pp. 119 f., 128, 137 ff., 143.)

Manuscripts and Autograph Letters

- 665 **Boulainvilliers**, Henri de. L'esprit de Baruck Spinoza par M. de Boulainvilliers [sic]. Manuscript, [54] l. 18½ cm.

This is one of the atheistic texts circulated secretly among French libertins. Usually it appears under the title *Traité des trois imposteurs* (667). Another of my manuscripts of this text, combining both title versions, has the title *De tribus impostoribus L'esprit de B. Spin. par M. de Boulainvilliers* (668). A great deal has been written about these manuscripts from the day they made their appearance until the present time. Much of this writing, far from clarifying the origin and role of the manuscripts, has further obscured the issues, particularly when the French *Traité des trois imposteurs* was confused with the legendary Latin *De tribus impostoribus*, a non-existing book talked about since the Middle Ages and forged in the early 18th century by two adventurers eager to cash in on the requests of rich collectors.

Ira O. Wade, *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, Princeton, 1938, agrees with the authorship as ascribed in this manuscript and states "the author of the treatise was undoubtedly Boulainvilliers." Comte Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722), who died in exile in London, was by character and scholarly inclination a radical, though like most contemporaries of his bent he often had to hide his sentiments. His historical works favoring governmental reform appeared after his death and so did his *Vie de Mahomet* in which he values Islam higher than Christianity. Many philosophical works critical of religion were attributed to him, probably more than he wrote.

His continual pre-occupation with Spinoza is well-documented. Following *L'esprit de Baruck Spinoza* one finds in my manuscript a *Critique de Spinoza* (666); it appeared in book form as late as 1767 (509). Another work of his was published as *Réfutation de Spinoza*, although it was not a refutation at all, in Fénelon, etc., *Réfutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza*, 1731 (315) and a French translation of his *Ethica* was published in 1907.

Other writers and scholars attribute the *L'esprit de Spinoza* to Jean Maximilien Lucas (d. 1697), a French journalist who, after having made his way to Holland, carried on a violent campaign against Louis XIV in various periodicals published by him. The main reason these modern writers, such as A. Wolf (*The oldest biography of Spinoza*, 1927, pp. 26 f.), believe Lucas to be the author

of the *L'esprit de Spinoza*, is that the latter work appears in some manuscripts and in its first printed edition of 1719 together with *La vie de Spinoza*, which for good reasons, although not with certainty, is attributed to Lucas. However, this is a weak argument since it was common practice in 18th century freethought literature to combine works by different authors.

I side with Wade in attributing authorship to Boulainvilliers. He is credited as the author in 18th century manuscripts, for example in two of mine, whereas Lucas is not, and, most importantly, the text is close to other writings of Boulainvilliers and the general trend of his thinking.

L'esprit de Spinoza is a virulent attack on religion and the founders of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. It does not represent, reproduce, or illustrate the genuine thought of Spinoza, but it shows how germs of his thought have been transformed, and often distorted, into a crass and cruel genre of anti-religion common to the radical *philosophes*. Boulainvilliers and his kin are Spinozists in such works as *L'esprit de Spinoza* not because they reflect faithfully their master's ideas, but because they use his name as a symbol of their revolt against religion and its institutions. Moses, Jesus and Mohammed are charlatans, magicians or fakers; their notions of the deity are founded on the fears of the unenlightened man; their ethics drawn from or inferior to those of the ancient philosophers. The theologies of their dogmatizers are false philosophies and constructed by shrewd and cunning men to give the clergy power over the uneducated.

This manuscript, judging from the script, appears to be one of the earlier ones, probably written around 1720.

- 666 [Boulainvilliers, Henri de]. Critique de Spinoza. Manuscript, [39] l. 18 ½ cm.

An early 18th century manuscript of a free-thinking work by the same hand as, and bound with, my manuscript *L'esprit de Baruck Spinoza* (665). Two manuscripts of the same text in French libraries (Nancy and Mazarine) are entitled *Analyse du Traité de la théologie-politique de Spinoza* and *Dissertation sur l'Écriture Sainte et les prophètes*, respectively. These titles best express the character of my manuscript. Its author explains that in reading the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* he was particularly intrigued by the criticism of the Bible and that on that aspect of Spinoza's thought he would concentrate his work. Thus, while sometimes penetrating to general principles, such as the rejection of prophecy as pure imagination or the rejection of miracles as incompatible with the immutability of the laws of nature, this treatise mostly emphasizes the contradictions and errors in the Biblical text as listed by Spinoza.

In 1767 this work appeared in print as the second part of a book entitled *Doutes sur la religion suivies de l'Analyse du Traité, theologi-politique de Spinoza*,

par le comte de Boulainvilliers (509). The printed version ascribes the work to Boulainvilliers. I accept this authorship. The reasons given by Wade, *The clandestine organization and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, p. 112, to doubt it are not compelling.

- 667 [Boulainvilliers, Henri de]. Traité des trois imposteurs. Manuscript, [1] l. 89 p., [1] l. 23 cm.

An 18th century manuscript of *L'esprit de Spinoza* (665) with the title *Traité des trois imposteurs*. There is some substantive justification for this title; Boulainvilliers' work deals in part with Moses, Jesus and Mohammed, and exposes them as impostors. But the main reason for affixing the new title to the work was most probably "commercial." All over Europe curious scholars and agents for rich collectors were hunting for manuscripts of the fabulous atheistic Latin book *De tribus impostoribus*. Since the Middle Ages rumors about it had been current. A controversy starting in the last decade of the 17th century, whether the book (which nobody had seen) really existed, had revived interest in it and sharpened the appetite for owning a copy. Bernard de la Monnoie had refuted its existence; others vouched for it (see 539). What could be more tempting than making, by way of a title change, *L'esprit de Spinoza* into a treatise on the fraudulent founders of the three great religions!

This manuscript opens with a three-page "Observation sur ce traité" which summarizes the controversy, and a French translation of the fictitious letter of Emperor Frederic II to his friend Otto of Bavaria which was supposed to form the beginning of at least one manuscript of the original *De tribus impostoribus*.

- 668 Boulainvilliers, Henri de. De tribus impostoribus L'esprit de B. Spin. par M. de Boulainvilliers. Manuscript, 87 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

An 18th century manuscript of *L'esprit de Spinoza*, the title of which also names it *De tribus impostoribus*. The fact that both designations are given together — interestingly enough the Latin *De tribus impostoribus* instead of the usual French *Traité des trois imposteurs* — seems to indicate that the originator of this manuscript was somewhat aware of the complex history of the work (see 665).

The last leaf of the manuscript, following the end of the text, lists manuscripts of Boulainvilliers' *Essay de métaphysique dans les principes de Benoist Spinoza* and works by Jean Bodin from the *Catalogue des livres de Mr. [Le] Pelletiers des Forts*. Since this catalogue appeared in 1741, my manuscript must be of a later date.

- 669 [Boulainvilliers, Henri de]. De tribus impostoribus. Or a treatise of the three most famous national impostors. Manuscript, [1] l. 191 p., [1] l. 19 ½ cm.

An 18th century manuscript of an English translation of *Traité des trois imposteurs* (667; see also 665). A previous owner, Joseph Parkes, noted on the flyleaf that he bought the manuscript in 1862 and that it is the only English translation he ever saw of "the famous *Treatise De Tribus Impostoribus*." Parkes is wrong in considering the manuscript a translation of *De tribus impostoribus* (see 667 and 668), but it may be safely assumed that it is the first English translation of Boulainvillier's *L'esprit de Spinoza* (665), which in the second half of the 18th century was printed a number of times under the title of *Traité des trois imposteurs* (539, 542, 605, 615). The first printed English translation of this work appeared in Dundee, Scotland in 1844; it was republished two years later in New York. However, this printed translation, which was based on the edition of 1776 (542), and that of my manuscript are different.

The opening "Dissertation on this Treatise" is culled from Bernard de la Monnoie's *Sentimens sur le Traité des trois imposteurs* and Peter Friedrich Arpe's (?) *Réponse* to it (539). It is followed by the fictitious letter of Emperor Frederic II to Otto of Bavaria (667).

- 670 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. Autograph draft of letter to Elise Reimar and Johann Albert Heinrich Reimar. [Berlin], November 18th, 1783. 3 p. 34 cm.

Elise Reimar (1735–1805), the learned daughter of Hermann Samuel Reimar (463, 536), was a close friend of Lessing, Mendelssohn and Jacobi, and acted as liaison between the latter two in the controversy about Lessing's Spinozism (see 564). She and her brother, Johann Albert Heinrich Reimar (1729–1814), a physician, are the "Schwester und Bruder in Geist und Wahrheit" to whom this letter is addressed. Showing many corrections and insertions, this draft differs slightly from Mendelssohn's actual letter (in the possession of the Mendelssohn family and published in *Moses Mendelssohn's gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5, Leipzig, 1844, pp. 699 ff.).

Mendelssohn wrote this letter after he had studied Jacobi's detailed report to him, dated November 4, 1783, of the discussion about Spinoza between the latter and Lessing, which was published in Jacobi's *Briefe ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*, 1785, pp. 7–48 (564). He confesses he was wrong in not taking Jacobi seriously. He asks Elise to express his apologies to Jacobi for not having answered him. He is not sure he fully understood Jacobi's argumentation. He liked Goethe's poem "Prometheus," but considers it a good persiflage of the Spinozistic system in all its nakedness. He cites his sickness and resignedly states that he just does not have the strength anymore to understand the sophistries of a new-fangled philosophy to which he can respond only with old-fashioned reasoning. He suggests that perhaps Johann Albert Heinrich Reimar might want to undertake this task.

- 671 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. First, partly autograph, draft of part of *Morgenstunden oder Vorlesungen ueber das Daseyn Gottes*. [Second half of 1784 or first half of 1785]. 4 p. 35 cm.

Mendelssohn began writing the *Morgenstunden* (567) in the summer of 1784 and finished the manuscript in June 1785. He was often sick during this period; sometimes his eyesight failed him. For this reason, part of the draft was dictated; however all the lengthy insertions and the final portion of this fragment are in Mendelssohn's hand.

This fragment represents pp. 251–258 of the first edition of the *Morgenstunden*; the manuscript differs in part from the printed version. It examines the "All is one" and the "One is all" of the Spinozists, clarifies the position of "refined pantheism," and tries to reconcile its ideas with Mendelssohn's views on religion and morality. Only a subtle difference without much practical effect, Mendelssohn states, separates the views of the refined pantheists from his own.

- 672 **Meslier**, Jean. Memoire des sentimens de Jean Meslier curé d'Etrépigny. [Second title:] Memoire des pensées et sentimens de Jean Meslier prêtre et curé d'Etrépigny et de But en Champagne, sur une partie des abus et des erreurs de la religion chretienne, pour être adressé à ses paroissiers après sa mort, et pour leur servir de temoignage de verité à eux et à leurs semblables. Manuscript, [4] l., 146 p. 26 cm.

During his life time, Jean Meslier (1664–1729) was the priest of a small parish in the Champagne; his writing, which made him a major figure in the anti-religious movement of the 18th century, became known, as he had intended, only years after his death. His change from orthodox curé to savage critic of Christianity began to take form when, in 1718, he read Fénelon's *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu* and Abbé Tournemine's anti-Spinozistic preface to it (222). He filled the margins of the book with outspoken notes criticizing both Fénelon and Tournemine, revealing in the process his Spinozistic and materialistic trend of thought. A few years later, Meslier began to write his *Testament* which grew into an enormous atheistic tome. A small number of copies exist in French libraries. A few manuscripts of an extract from Meslier's *Testament*, utilizing merely the first part of the *Testament* which consisted of three parts, are extant. Mine is such a manuscript.

Ira O. Wade has made a painstaking analysis of the manuscripts in French libraries (*The clandestine organization and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, 1938, pp. 65–93). Judging from it, my manuscript is similar to the manuscript Arsenal 2559, most complete among those of the *Extrait* examined by Wade, which rigidly follows the structure of Meslier's work. It was this kind of manuscript, as Wade proves, and possibly ours, as I

will show, which was published by Voltaire in 1762 under the title *Extrait des Sentimens de Meslier*, called by Theodore Besterman "one of Voltaire's most influential works — for he can fairly be said to have made it his own" (*Voltaire's Correspondence* edited by Theodore Besterman, vol. 48, Geneva, 1959, p. xxiii).

Prior to 1762, the name of Meslier was practically unknown in France. Voltaire first heard of Meslier in 1735 through his friend Nicolas Claude Thiériot (1696–1772): "Comment un curé et un français, aussi philosophe que Loke? Ne pouvez vous point m'envoyer le manuscrit?" (November 30, 1735; *Voltaire's Correspondence*, vol. 4, 1954).

It is thus clear that Thiériot possessed or had access to a manuscript in 1735 and twenty-seven years later, in 1762, when the *Extrait* appeared in print, Thiériot again is quoted by Voltaire as the person completely conversant with Meslier manuscripts. "Il y a quinze à vingt ans qu'on vendait le manuscrit de cet ouvrage [i.e. of the *Extrait*] huit louis d'or. C'était un très-gros in 4°; il y en a plus de cent exemplaires dans Paris. Frère Thiriôt est très au fait. On ne sait qui a fait l'extrait, mais il est tiré tout entier mot pour mot de l'original" (Voltaire to Etienne Noël Damilaville, February 6, 1762, *Correspondence*, vol. 48, 1959, p. 81).

Before my manuscript came into the famous library of Jean Baptiste Huzard (1755–1839), veterinarian and president of the schools of Lyon and Alfort, and later into the possession of François Vincent Raspail (1794–1878), the chemist and politician, it belonged to the library of Hyacinthe-Théodore Baron (1707–1787), dean of the medical faculty in Paris, who was a great collector of books and manuscripts. At least for some time after the middle of August, 1760, Thiériot lived in Baron's house. "Qu'esce que vous faites chez le médecin Baron?" Voltaire inquired in a letter to Thiériot of August 11, 1760 (*Voltaire's Correspondence*, vol. 43, 1959, p. 38). Subsequent letters are addressed to "M. Tiriot chez monsieur Baron medecin" (September 9, and September 23, 1760, *ibid.*, pp. 123, 170). Is it not possible, asks a note by a later owner of the manuscript, that Baron obtained this manuscript from Thiériot? Indeed, Voltaire's letter to Damilaville, unknown to that owner, makes it highly probable that Baron thus obtained the manuscript, and therefore the possibility cannot be excluded that my manuscript was used for Voltaire's edition.

The extract of Meslier's *Testament* states that all religions in general are nothing but errors, illusions, and impostures. They are the source of trouble and division. The Bible is full of contradictions. The miracles are not "véritable." Religion has provided the reasons and the justification for political systems of exploitation. Christian religion is responsible for the annihilation of half of the human race. Meslier concludes with the wish that God recall men to that simple natural religion which brings about a universe of good citizens. Spinozistic borrowings are evident in many parts of the manuscript, particu-

larly in the parts criticizing the Scriptures, but Meslier's materialistic interpretation of Nature, to which he progressed from the kind of Spinozism which he exhibited in his critique of Fénelon and Tournemine, and which is present in the full text of the *Testament*, is not included in the extract.

- 673 Reimarus, Elise. Autograph letter to Moses Mendelssohn. Hamburg, April 10, [17]84. 4 p. 19 cm.

With this letter, which is unpublished, Elise Reimarus (see 670) returns Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's long report to Mendelssohn of November 4, 1783. Mendelssohn had sent it to her because Elise's brother wanted to study it, and Elise had made a copy for him. Her brother, Elise announces, will tell Mendelssohn what he thinks about it as soon as he finds the time. But, she notes, the recently published book by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Benedikt von Spinoza nach Leben und Lehren*, has strengthened her brother's inclination "to hide from the world, if possible, Lessing's Spinozistic opinions."

The same information was given to Jacobi by Elise Reimarus in a letter quoted in the second edition of *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*, 1789, pp. 71 f. (591); see also the reprint in Jacobi's *Werke*, vol. 41, 1819, pp. 97 f. (644), where the names of Diez and Elise's brother, omitted in 1789, are spelled out.

- 674 [Stosch, Friedrich Wilhelm]. *Concordia rationis et fidei sive harmonia philosophiae moralis et religionis christianae*. Die 1. mens: Maii anno 1692. Manuscript, [121] l. 18½ cm.

The anonymous author of *Concordia rationis et fidei* is Friedrich Wilhelm Stosch (1646–1704), a court official in Berlin. The *Concordia* was his first work. One hundred copies were privately printed for distribution to his friends. In 1693 through indiscretion a few copies were sold in Berlin. Immediately the book was denounced as atheistic, Socinian and Spinozistic. Threatened with severe penalties, the owners of the book were ordered to turn in their copies to the authorities. Stosch was arrested and all copies of the book found were publicly burned. In 1694, Stosch was reinstated to his office after he retracted his heterodox opinions.

This public commotion and the rarity of the book (I know of only one copy, in the Berlin State Library) caused it to be copied by hand and distributed secretly. Mine is such a copy, written in a beautiful hand. A note in the manuscript tells about the fate of author and book: "Noteworthy is the commotion which arose about this book in Jena where a copy fell into the hands of Professor Sagittarius. He and one of his colleagues to whom he showed it were frightened as though outcasts from hell had come to them and Jena was to perish."

Stosch's book attempts to syncretize modern philosophy, physics and theology. It quotes Spinoza and amply uses his ideas and terminology. Many passages are summaries or paraphrases of parts of Spinoza's *Ethica*. The book opens with a Spinozistic pantheistic prayer, "Summe Deus ens perfectissimum, unica et sola substantia, a quo, ex quo, et in quo omnia sunt, [etc.]."

Works by Benedictus de Spinoza

Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae

- 675 **Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae** pars I, & II, more geometrico demonstratae per Benedictum de Spinoza Amstelodamensem. Accesserunt ejusdem Cogitata metaphysica, in quibus difficiliore, qua tam in parte metaphysices generali, quam speciali occurrunt, quaestiones breviter explicantur. Amsterdam: Johann Rieuwerts [Jan Rieuwerts], 1663. [8] l., 140 p. 20 cm.

The first printed book of Spinoza and the only one bearing his name. The preface is by Lodewijk Meyer, author of *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, 1666 (3) and the Latin poem following it by Iohannes Bouwmeester, M.D., both friends of Spinoza in Amsterdam. Jarig Jelles, another member of Spinoza's circle, paid for the printing.

- 676 **Renatus des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte**, I en II deel, na den meetkonstige wijze bewezen door Benedictus de Spinoza, Amsterdammer. Mitsgaders des zelfs Overnatuurkundige gedachten, in welke de zwaarste geschillen, die zoo in't algemeen, als in't byzonder deel der overnatuurkunde ontmoeten, Kortelyk werden verklaart. Alles uit 't Latijn vertaalt door P[ieter] B[alling]. Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts, 1664. [6] l., 168 p., [3] l. 20 cm.

Dutch translation by Pieter Balling (46) done in collaboration with Spinoza who made revisions in the text and inserted a number of additions.

Tractatus theologico-politicus

- 677 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenraht [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1670. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 cm.

The genuine first edition (T₁) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 15), sometimes called the first issue of the first edition, which appeared late in 1669 or

early in 1670. It spells the fictitious publisher's name "Kuenraht," contains all the typographical errors enumerated in the list of errata and misprints page 104 as 304.

- 678 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenraht [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1672. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 ½ cm.

The genuine second edition (T₂) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 17). Its title page is identical with T₁, excepting the last line which shows the year 1672. It contains the list of errata on the last page; however, six of the thirteen typographical errors enumerated in it have been corrected in the text. A number of other typographical errors of T₁ have been remedied; on the other hand, some Latin and Hebrew words and phrases printed correctly in T₁ are misspelled or rendered incorrectly. T₂ is easily recognizable by three typographical errors: p. 42 reads 24, page 207 reads 213, Cap. XIV on page 161 reads Cap. XVI.

Only four copies of this edition are recorded.

- 679 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenraht [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1670 [1672]. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 ½ cm.

The redated second edition (T_{2A}) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, pp. 17 f.); identical with T₂, excepting the year of publication which is given as 1670. For reasons of prudence, the printer reset the last line of T₂ and changed the year back to that of the first edition to avoid evidence of a new edition. This ruse was also employed in the later editions T₄ and T₅.

- 680 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kunraht [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1673. Followed by: *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres; exercitatio paradoxa*, in qua, veram philosophiam infallibilem s. literas interpretandi normam esse, apodicticè demonstratur, & discrepantes ab hac sententiae expenduntur, ac refelluntur. . . . [by Lodewijk Meyer]. Eleutheropoli [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1673. [11] l., 334 p., [2 white leaves], [9] l., 182 p., [10] l. 16 ½ cm.

The third (octavo) edition of the *Tractatus*, published in conjunction with Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (3). This issue has an undisguised cancel title for each work (T₃T) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 24). Only two copies are recorded.

- 681 **Tractatus theologico-politicus**, cui adjunctus est *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*. Ab autore longé emendator. N.p., 1674. [11] l., 334 p., [2 white leaves], [8] l., 182 p., [10] l. 17 cm.

The third (octavo) edition of the *Tractatus* published in conjunction with Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (6) in an issue which has the "English" cancel title listing both works (T₃E) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, pp. 20 ff.).

- 682 **Tractatus theologico-politicus**, cui adjunctus est *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*. Ab autore longé emendator. N.p., 1674. [11] l., 334 p., [2 white leaves], [9] l., 182 p., [10] l. 17 cm.

The third (octavo) edition of the *Tractatus* published in conjunction with Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (3) in an issue which has the "English" cancel title. However, in my copy (T₃E/H) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 24) the original spurious title to the latter work was not removed but left by mistake. This title reads: *Danielis Heinsii p.p. Operum historicorum collectio secunda. Editio secunda, priori editione multo emendatior & auctior accedunt quaedam hactenus inedita. Lugd. Batav. apud Isaacum Herculis 1673.*

Only one other such copy is recorded.

- 683 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenrath [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz], 1670 [after 1677]. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 cm.

The fourth edition (T₄) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, pp. 24 f.), which appeared after 1677. It spells the publisher's name "Kuenrath", contains the list of errata and follows T₂ in correcting some of them. It can be easily recognized by the misprint 830, in the numbering of page 130. Like T₂ it created further mistakes in the text.

- 684 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli

non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenrath [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz], 1670 [after 1677]. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 cm.

The fifth edition (T₅) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 25). It has the spelling "Kuenrath" as in T₄; but the list of errata is omitted and two more of the original and many of the other errors are corrected; page 192 is misnumbered as 92; and, whereas all the previous quarto editions show the same vignette at the end of the "Praefatio," T₅ has a new and different one, a flower basket.

- 685 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenrath [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz], 1670 [after 1677]. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 cm.

A copy of the *Tractatus* which is composed of sheets of T₄ as well as T₅ (T₄/5), which indicates that the publisher kept, for some time at least, a continuous stock of sheets of the book and had new sheets printed while the previous issue was not entirely used up (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 25).

Only one other such copy, made up of sheets of T₂ and T₄, is recorded.

Other Works

- 686 **La clef du santuaire** par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle. La ou est l'esprit de Dieu, là est la liberté, 2 Epitre aux Corinthiens chap. 3. vers. 17. Leiden: Pierre Warnae, 1678. [16] l., 531, [30], 30 p. 13 cm.

French translation of the *Tractatus* by Gabriel de Saint-Glain (d. before 1685), a French Protestant refugee to the Netherlands where he served at some time as a captain to the States of Holland and was later editor of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*. Added to the translation are "Remarques curieuses et nécessaires pour l'intelligence de ce livre," translated from annotations by Spinoza which most probably Saint-Glain, who belonged to Spinoza's intimate circle, had received from the philosopher who had written them in the margins of his copy of the *Tractatus*; see my notes on Spinoza, *Adnotationes*, 1802 (694).

Saint-Glain's translation of 1678 appeared in various issues under three different fictitious titles; some copies have two or all three. My collection contains four variants with seven different title pages (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, pp. 31 f.).

Henri Morelli, a Jewish physician turned Catholic, who was a friend of Gabriel de Saint-Glain, told Des Maizeaux, the annotator of Bayle's letters, that the original title used for the translation was *La clef du santuaire*. This title, how-

ever, created such a commotion that it was decided to change it to *Traité des ceremonies* and *Réflexions curieuses* (687–689); see Bayle, *Oeuvres diverses*, vol. 4, 1737, p. 574, note to letter XXXIII (342).

- 687 **Traité des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs** tant anciens que modernes. Amsterdam: Jacob Smith, 1678. [15] l., 531, [30], 30 p. 12½ cm.

French translation of the *Tractatus* by Gabriel de Saint-Glain with the *Traité* title; otherwise it is identical with the *La clef* issue (686).

- 688 **Traité des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs** tant anciens que modernes. Amsterdam: Jacob Smith, 1678. [Second title:] *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*. Cologne: Claude Emanuel, 1678. [Third title:] *La clef du santuaire par un sçavant de nôtre siecle*. . . . Leiden: Pierre Warnae, 1678. [17] l., 531, [30], 30 p. 13 cm.

French translation of the *Tractatus* by Gabriel de Saint-Glain with all three titles (686). The first two title pages are cancels and the first and third differ from those of the two preceding issues (different type sizes, different spacing and different title vignettes); otherwise it is identical with them.

- 689 **Réflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé** sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier. Cologne: Claude Emanuel, 1678. [Second title:] *Traité des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs* tant anciens que modernes. Amsterdam: Jacob Smith, 1678. [16] l., 531, [30], 30 p. 14 cm.

French translation of the *Tractatus* by Gabriel de Saint-Glain with the *Réflexions* and *Traité* titles (686–688).

This issue is a new printing in its entirety. The title pages — the first is a cancel — are different from the corresponding ones in my other copies and a better type is used throughout. This issue can be easily identified by the misprint “PREEACE” on l. 10 verso of the preface.

- 690 **A treatise partly theological, and partly political**, containing some few discourses to prove that the liberty of philosophizing (that is making use of natural reason) may be allow'd without any prejudice to piety, or to the peace of any common-wealth; and that the loss of public peace and religion it self must necessarily follow, where such a liberty of reasoning is taken away . . . Translated out of Latin. London, 1689. [15] l., 452 p. 17½ cm.

The first complete English translation of the *Tractatus*. The introduction of the unknown translator shows his full awareness of the reception the translation

would receive, but, he says, clergymen and lawyers have uttered doctrines more harmful to society. The translation was soon suppressed.

A new title issue of this translation appeared in 1737 (691).

- 691 **A treatise partly theological, and partly political**, containing some few discourses, to prove that the liberty of philosophizing (that is making use of natural reason) may be allowed without any prejudice to piety, or to the peace of any commonwealth. And that the loss of public peace and religion itself must necessarily follow, where such a liberty of reasoning is taken away . . . Translated from the Latin of Spinoza. London: Sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1737. [15] l., 452 p. 18 cm.

A new title issue of the first complete English translation of the *Tractatus*, appearing forty-four years after its publication in 1689 (690). The 1689 issue was anonymous; the title page of this one, a cancel, gives the name of Spinoza.

- 692 Benedikt's von Spinoza **Theologisch-politische Abhandlungen** neu uebersetzt mit den von Hrn. v. Murr herausgegebenen Anmerkungen des Verfassers zu diesem Traktat, einer einleitenden Vorrede und einigen Anmerkungen begleitet von Carl Philipp Conz. . . . Stuttgart: Joh. Friedrich Steinkopf, 1806. 76 p., [2] l., 424 p., [2] l. 20½ cm.

German translation of the *Tractatus*. The translator, Carl Philipp Conz (579) began the translation for his personal use prior to the publication in 1802/3 of Spinoza's works by Paulus (701), and decided to publish it because he felt it was dishonest of scholars to hide behind a learned language understood only by few. Conz' adoration of Spinoza is deep; his fragment on Spinoza's teachings (pp. LI–LXXVI) concludes with a “welcome” to Spinozism which Conz regards as compatible with revelation. Spinoza's annotations are reprinted from Murr's edition of 1802 (694).

- 693 **Theologisch-politische Abhandlungen** von Spinoza. Freye Uebersetzung und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von Dr. J.A. Kalb. Munich: Joseph A. Finsterlin, 1826. 98, 432, [1] p. 21½ cm.

A free, very readable though not always faithful German translation of the *Tractatus* by J.A. Kalb, a liberal Bavarian Protestant. The translator added a long glowing laudation of Spinoza, “the Plato of all centuries,” and annotations which stressed subservience of reason to religion as a commendable goal. Although Kalb at the end of his preface declares his willingness to retract his opinions should the authorities feel they were contrary to the public good, the Bavarian police promptly confiscated the book.

- 694 Benedicti de Spinoza **Adnotationes ad Tractatum theologico politicum**. Ex autographo edidit ac praefatus est, addita notitia scriptorum philosophi, Christophorus Theophilus de Murr. . . Cum imagine et chirographo. The Hague [Nuernberg], 1802. Portrait, 44 p., facsimile of Spinoza letter. 23 1/2 cm.

First publication in their original Latin form of Spinoza's manuscript annotations on the *Tractatus* (pp. 33–43); see my notes on the French translation of 1678 (668). Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733–1811), a polymath and book collector in Nuernberg who already as a young man had searched in Holland for Spinoza's lost *Apology*, devoted the first part of his book to valuable biographical and iconographical data pertaining to Spinoza.

Opera posthuma

- 695 B.d.S. **Opera posthuma**, quorum series post praefationem exhibetur. N.p. [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1677. [20] l., 614 p., [17] l., 112 p., [4] l. 20 cm.

Opera posthuma contains all of Spinoza's unpublished works, namely, *Ethica*; *Tractatus politicus*; *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*; *Epistolae*; and *Compendium grammaticae linguae ebraeae*. One day before Spinoza's death the manuscripts of these works had been removed from Spinoza's room by his friends to be turned over to Jan Rieuwerts. Jarig Jelles became the editor; Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker translated the preface into Latin.

See also 696.

- 696 B.d.S. **Opera posthuma**, quorum series post praefationem exhibetur. N.p. [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1677. [20] l., 614 p., [17] l., 112 p., [4] l. 20 1/2 cm.

One of the few copies of the *Opera posthuma* (695) containing Spinoza's portrait. Ernst Alt Kirch, *Spinoza im Portrait*, 1913, pp. 61–63, deals with the problems presented by this portrait which became the model for many later engravings.

- 697 **De nagelate schriften** van B.d.S. als Zedekunst, Staatskunde, Verbetering van't verstant, Brieven en antwoorden. Uit verscheide talen in de Nederlandsche gebragt. N.p. [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1677. [24] l., portrait, 666 p., [1] l. 20 1/2 cm.

Dutch translation of Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* (695). It was printed simultaneously with the Latin edition and it is possible, although not certain, as Carl Gebhardt concludes (Spinoza, *Opera*, Heidelberg, [1925], vol. 2, p. 315), that the translation had been prepared during Spinoza's life-time. It is certain, however, that the translation, probably by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker, was not made from the texts as printed in the *Opera posthuma*, but from manuscripts of Spinoza predating them.

The *Nagelate schriften* are very rare. Because it was written in the vernacular, the book was effectively suppressed. My copy is one of those even rarer ones containing the portrait of Spinoza which one finds inserted in a limited number of the *Opera posthuma* (696); it has, at that, Dutch verses carefully pasted over the original Latin caption.

Ethica

- 698 B.v.S. **Sittenlehre**, widerleget von dem beruehmten Weltweisen unserer Zeit Herrn Christian Wolf. Aus dem Lateinischen uebersetzt. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1744. Portrait, 56, 598, 128 p. 17 cm.

The first German translation of the *Ethica*. The translator, Johann Lorenz Schmidt, who also had translated the Wertheim Bible, 1735 (332) and was persecuted on account of the "atheism" of that translation, lived under an assumed name at Altona while he translated the *Ethica*. Probably as a safeguard, Schmidt added to the translation the refutation of the *Ethica* from Christian Wolff's *Theologia naturalis* (353).

The portrait of Spinoza is probably by J.G. Wolfgang (1664–1744), an engraver in Berlin.

- 699 Benedikt von Spinoza's **Ethik** nebst Briefen welche sich auf die Gegenstaende der Ethik beziehen aus dem Lateinischen uebersetzt von Friedr. Wilh. Valent. Schmidt . . . Erster Band. Die Ethik enthaltend. Berlin und Stettin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1812. 8, 431, [1] p. 22 1/2 cm.

German translation of the *Ethica*; the second volume which was to contain the letters never appeared. Friedrich Wilhelm Valentin Schmidt (d. 1831), a professor of modern languages at the Berlin University, was the first to examine the Latin text critically. The translation is excellent; Berthold Auerbach used it, with a few changes, in his edition of the works (1841 and 1871).

Tractatus de intellectus emendatione and Tractatus politicus

- 700 Benedikt von Spinoza. **Zwey Abhandlungen** ueber die Kultur des menschlichen Verstandes und ueber die Aristokratie und Demokratie. Herausgegeben und mit einer Vorrede begleitet von S[chack] H[ermann] Ewald. . . . Leipzig: Schoenfeld, 1785. 16, 263 p. 16 cm.

First German translation of *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* (pp. 1–96) and *Tractatus politicus* (pp. 97–263). The translator, Schack Hermann Ewald

(1745–1822), a jurist and court secretary of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, made a name for himself as a poet and scholar; a few years later, he began a German translation of all of Spinoza's work (702).

Collected Works

- 701 Benedicti de Spinoza **Opera** quae supersunt omnia. Iterum edenda curavit, praefationes; vitam auctoris, nec non notitias, quae ad historiam scriptorum pertinent addidit Henr. Eberh. Gottlob Paulus. . . . Jena: In bibliopolio academico, 1802–1803. 2 vols. 24, 24, 700 p.; portrait, 40, 680 p. 21 cm.

Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus (1761–1851), a professor of philosophy and theology at the University of Jena and later of Heidelberg, is known as a friend of the young and adversary of the old Schelling. His edition of Spinoza's works was prompted by two main considerations, the rarity of the original editions and the conviction that no true picture of Spinoza could be gained from Bayle and other routine sources. Thus the merits of Paulus' edition are that it made easily available to the Spinoza research of the next decades the texts of Spinoza's writings as well as a rich collection of biographical material (*Collectanea de vita B. de Spinoza*, vol. 2, pp. 590–680).

The portrait is an engraving by Johann Heinrich Lips (1758–1817), a Swiss painter and engraver.

- 702 Spinoza's **Philosophische Schriften**. (Erster Band: Benedikt von Spinoza ueber Heilige Schrift, Judenthum, Recht der hoechsten Gewalt in geistlichen Dingen, und Freyheit zu philosophiren. Aus dem Lateinischen. [Vol. 2:] Spinoza's Ethik Erster Theil; [vol. 3:] Spinoza's Ethik. Zweiter Theil.) Gera: Christoph Friedrich Bekmann, 1787–1793. 3 vols. [1] l., 22 p., [4] l., 456 p.; [1] l., 62, 182 p.; [1] l., 299 p. 19 cm.

The translator is Schack Hermann Ewald. His is the first attempt of a collection of Spinoza's works in German. The three volumes which appeared include the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (vol. 1) and the first two parts of the *Ethica* (vols. 2 and 3). Earlier, in 1785, Ewald had published a German translation of the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* and the *Tractatus politicus* (700).

Although he precedes his translation of the *Ethica* with Christian Wolff's refutation (353) and interjects the text with critical notes in which he tries to refute Spinoza by the means of Kant's philosophy (p. xxxix), Ewald is an enthusiastic admirer of Spinoza. To him, Spinoza was a "dear, good, noble and pious — but also an enlightened man," (vol. 1, p. 111) who "taught the purest Christ religion" (p. v), and he foresees a time in which Spinoza will serve as a

strong support to the Scriptures and to true Christian faith (p. 111).

A partly new re-issue of this edition is of 1787–1796 (703).

- 703 Spinoza's **Philosophische Schriften**. (Erster Band: Benedikt von Spinoza ueber Heilige Schrift, Judenthum, Recht der hoechsten Gewalt in geistlichen Dingen, und Freyheit zu philosophiren. Aus dem Lateinischen; Zweyter Band. Neue unveraenderte Auflage: Spinoza's Ethik Erster Theil; Dritter Band. Neue unveraenderte Auflage: Spinoza's Ethik Zweyter Theil.) Gera: Christoph Friedrich Bekmann, 1787 (vol. 1); Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Boehme, 1796 (vols. 2 and 3). 3 vols. [1] l., 22 p., [4] l., 456 p.; [2] l., 62, 182 p.; [2] l., 299 p. 19½ cm.

Vols. 2 and 3 are new title issues, but otherwise identical with the first edition, 1787–1793 (702).

- 704 Benedicti de Spinoza **Opera philosophica omnia** edidit et praefationem adjecit A. Gfroerer. . . . Stuttgart: B. Mezler, 1830. (Corpus philosophorum optimae notae, qui ab restauratione litterarum ad Kantium usque floruerunt . . . Tomus 111). 78, 664 p., plates. 20 cm.

August Friedrich Gfroerer (1803–1861), a German historian, was at the time he prepared his Spinoza edition a librarian in Stuttgart. The volume contains the works printed in the *Opera* edited by Paulus in 1802/3 (701), excepting the Hebrew grammar. It also presents a reprint of Colerus' Spinoza biography (157) with additions and corrections from other sources.

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